







A LIFE
OF
GROVER CLEVELAND

WITH A SKETCH OF
ADLAI E. STEVENSON

BY
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CLEVELAND"

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PREFACE.

THE accompanying Life of Grover Cleveland may be considered a supplement to my volume of his "Writings and Speeches," issued in June last. While making the researches necessary for that, I was struck with the *paucity* and weakness of the literature that had grown up about this virile political figure. Coming to the front as he did without notice, rounding out a political career in an unprecedentedly brief time, no serious and intelligent attempt had ever been made to bring out in anything like connected form the words and a history of the acts that represented what Mr. Cleveland is, and what he means to the American people. Most of the sketches extant were written in 1884 and re-issued in 1888, almost without revision. They are of little value as a record of his career, or an estimate of his character.

It was my good fortune to be thrown into intimate relations with this man, and to discover, as I studied his character, that much biographical material had remained unused. This knowledge was utilized as best I knew how in the editing of the "Writings and Speeches," which was prepared without any attempt at an estimate other than that included in the Introduction, a composition purely critical both in character and intent.

It appeared to me that the time was opportune for a brief, comprehensive sketch which should bring together, in a reasonable compass, the events of Mr. Cleveland's life, giving due emphasis to the great political work he had done since his election to the Presidency in 1884. I have modestly attempted to do this here; in the main, to sketch only in outline the acts of the man, leaving the reader to turn to the collected writings for his words. I have thus been able to get away from the old-time documentary sketch, which was little more than a collection of letters and speeches.

Whatever faults this volume may have, it is at least an honest attempt to sum up the character of its subject, after a narration, however brief, of his achievements. It has been throughout a labor of love. I have the highest admiration for the man who is the subject of it, and the warmest personal attachment. I believe thoroughly in the enlightened ideas and impulses he represents, and profess the faith of the political party he has both led and regenerated. This sketch is, therefore, by a friendly hand. The career under discussion is not one that has things to be concealed. The subject of it is himself open, manly, free from vanity and show, moved by impulses of the highest patriotism, always looking at a question from a moral point of view, and devoted in a degree that few men can be to what he believes to be the best interests of his countrymen.

Knowing as well as believing all this, I have not had to look for flaws nor to analyze bad or questionable motives and methods, either personal or political. I have simply felt moved, so far as in me

lay, to "tell the truth." So, if my little work reads like a eulogy, the reason is not far to seek. I have felt that the mere telling of the story of his life in plain language makes impossible anything else than praise. This inheres to the character of the man studied, and accords with my own conception of the dignity and usefulness of the public service he has done and may still do.

I have given only brief space to his earlier life and struggles. Mr. Cleveland's whole public career, like that of every other man of force, is builded upon the character which came from native abilities, and from his youthful surroundings and days of struggle. It remains true, however, that the public work is the one thing that interests his countrymen. They may like to know something of the foundation and how it was made, but in this case it is the superstructure that is interesting and valuable to them, and they want to know this in reasonable detail. I have reviewed his public service topically, endeavoring to set it forth with sufficient fullness to give

the reader a knowledge of his acts. For his words I must refer to his writings and speeches.

I hope that these two books, completing for the present the study that I started out to make, may find some acceptance as my humble contribution to contemporary history. If I have succeeded even in a small degree, I shall have abundant reward, because my own studies of public men long ago convinced me that it is far more difficult to get fairly accurate information about men of the time than of those whose records have passed finally into history.

I cannot forbear to make acknowledgment to friends who have assisted me. Little has been known about Mr. Cleveland as a young man. I have consequently deemed myself fortunate in securing from Miss Frances J. Crosby a careful review of his life at that time. This certainly ought not only to add to the interest of my little book, but contribute something to a knowledge of the character it treats.

In like manner his professional career

has not attracted the attention that it deserved. Many men know him as an excellent lawyer; few know that he was practically the leader of the bar in a great and important community. The estimate made of him by his former partner and long-time personal friend, Mr. Wilson S. Bissell, will, I think, contribute in some degree to supply this lack.

Mr. Richard Watson Gilder, long Mr. Cleveland's friend and for some years my own, from his abundant store of knowledge, has given me a kindly and critical analysis of his friend and mine. I esteem this the more keenly because Mr. Gilder seldom writes for publications other than those of his own company, and for the further reason that, without solicitation, he kindly sent me the letter included in this volume. It is a warm and sympathetic analysis of the man whose training and career are so different from his own, and is the result of a friendship honorable in the highest degree to both.

In the preparation of the brief sketch of Mr. Stevenson, I have obtained from that

gentleman many of the material facts included in it. In addition to this, I have known him well for many years, and count him as one of my circle of friends. I have endeavored to set forth his character as well as I could in the brief space allotted to it, and trust that his countrymen may get from it some idea of the noble qualities of the man.

While this work has been written in the stress of other and absorbing employments, and does not therefore make any pretensions to literary merit, I hope I may have been successful in giving to my readers something like a fair idea of the men whose characters are thus delineated.

GEORGE F. PARKER.

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A LIFE OF GROVER CLEVELAND

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE.

THE first of the Cleveland name—a name made famous by the subject of this sketch—known to this country was Moses Cleaveland, who came to Massachusetts in 1635 from Ipswich, in the county of Norfolk, England. The name was then spelled “Cleveland,” the superfluous “a” having been dropped by some of his successors, although several branches of the family collateral to that to which the ex-President belongs have retained it. In about two generations from the beginning—as was not uncommon in the records of New England life—the ministerial habit became fixed in the Cleveland family; since which time there has never been a generation in which one or more of the name was

not a minister of some one of the Protestant Churches. In one or two cases they were Episcopalians, but in general they took to Presbyterianism or to its sister, Congregationalism.

It is not necessary to go at any great length into the genealogical history of the family simply because a descendant of the original stock has attained distinction. Each generation of the Clevelands has been active, energetic; never noted, perhaps, at any time for the possession of great wealth or such genius as to attract universal attention in their various walks of life, but at all times the men and the women have done their duty and have done it well. The family connections have been good, and yet there is no record anywhere that anything like extraordinary family pride or vanity has been engendered.

Among the descendants of the original Cleveland there have been, as already asserted, many men of character and ability. They have been found in almost every occupation and profession—farmers, me-

chanics, lawyers, physicians, soldiers, ministers of the gospel at home and missionaries in foreign lands. As early as 1757 one of the ministerial members of the family, in the fourth generation, the Rev. Aaron Cleveland, died in Philadelphia at the house of Benjamin Franklin, and his virtues were recorded by his philosopher friend in the primitive weekly newspaper which he conducted. In this notice, which would be considered singularly brief for a man of such prominence in the present day, the great American philosopher pronounced upon his dead friend the following eulogy :

“As he was a gentleman of humane and pious disposition, indefatigable in his ministry, easy and affable in his conversation, open and sincere in his friendship, and above every species of meanness and dissimulation, his death is greatly lamented by all who knew him, as a loss to the public—a loss to the Church of Christ in general, and in particular to that congregation who had proposed to themselves so much satisfaction from his late appointment among them, agreeable to their own request.”

Ever since that day there have been prominent clergymen in the ranks of the

Cleveland family, and the general characteristics of all, whatever their calling, have been those described so well by Benjamin Franklin.

In 1793 William Cleveland, the grandfather of Grover Cleveland—a watchmaker of the old-fashioned, hard-working, careful kind, engaged in business in Westfield, Mass.—was married to Margaret Falley at Norwich, Conn. In the latter place the young couple settled down to live, and on June 19, 1805, there was born to them a son, Richard Falley Cleveland, who was the father of Grover Cleveland. It was decreed in the councils of the family that this young man should become a minister. Accordingly he was trained in the schools of Norwich and there fitted for entering into Yale College, from which institution he was graduated in 1824.

When he began to look about for a place to practice his profession he was led to go for a time to Baltimore, Md., where for a year he filled a position as tutor in a private school. He proceeded forthwith to

fall in love with Anne Neal, but, as he had not yet perfected himself in his theological studies, he left his lady-love behind and entered upon the study of theology in the Seminary of Princeton. In 1829, when he was twenty-four years old, he returned to Baltimore and he and Miss Neal were married. They went at once to Windham, Conn., in which place the young man had been offered a position as minister of the Congregational Church. He began his professional life with enthusiasm, and his earnest, eloquent sermons were long remembered in the neighborhood in which he first began his work. He accepted soon after a call from the Presbyterian Church of Portsmouth, Va., where he hoped to re-establish his health, then somewhat shattered. He remained there for only a brief time, and the work he did was not different from that which usually fell upon a young clergyman in those days in a small town.

In due time, with health restored, he began to contemplate a return to the North, and upon the recommendation of his old in-

structors at Princeton he was called to the pastorate of the Presbyterian church in Caldwell, N. J., then, as now, a village in Essex County in that State. He began his work in this new field just before Christmas, 1834, and in the parsonage attached to this modest church Grover Cleveland was born on the 18th day of March, 1837.

For many years preceding the arrival of Richard F. Cleveland in Caldwell, the pastor had been a man deeply beloved by his congregation, one whose death was greatly lamented—Stephen Grover. In recognition of the good qualities of this predecessor the child was given the name which has now become famous. But even in his later boyhood the name Stephen was never used, and before he had arrived at the years of maturity he was always known by his middle name.

In 1841 Richard Cleveland accepted a call to the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church in Fayetteville, N. Y., a small village situated in what was then almost a pioneer region in Onondaga County. Syra-

cuse, now grown to be an important city, was then little more than a village, and the marvelous growth of central New York had only just begun. As a consequence there was a good deal of difficulty in reaching the new pastorate, and it was only after many days of weary travel by river, canal, and wagon that the Cleveland family, then numbering—besides the father and mother—three daughters and three sons, reached its destination in this new and comparatively unsettled region.

Once there the father settled down to a work that was congenial and useful. Like many a minister in those days the salary was small and the allowances almost nothing. But the energy of the father and the prudent watchfulness and loving foresight of the mother enabled them to bring up their family, not in luxury, but with all the comforts of life. In spite of the \$600 a year, which would seem almost insignificant at this day, and upon which scarcely any man of this type would undertake in such a place to rear and train a family, there was never anything like poverty in

the Cleveland home. There was a necessity for close management, care, and prudent economy on the part of all, but each did his part in the task of making life happy.

This relation to Fayetteville continued about eleven years, when, in 1851, Richard Cleveland, having accepted the agency of the American Home Missionary Society at the munificent salary of \$1000 a year, removed with his wife and children, the latter now increased to nine, to Clinton, Oneida County. One of the motives of this change was not only a better position in life, but a desire to use the educational facilities offered by Hamilton College, then, as now, located in Clinton. The eldest son, the Rev. William N. Cleveland, now pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Chaumont, Jefferson County, N. Y., finished his education at Hamilton College, while the younger members of the family were able to avail themselves of the advantages of the Clinton schools, the boys with immediate reference to a college career.

Before leaving Fayetteville, Grover, then fourteen years old, had accepted a place as clerk in a grocery store in Fayetteville, and so did not at once go with the family to the new home. He was able to command for his services in this useful but humble capacity the large sum of \$50 a year, with the promise of \$100 for the second year. A single year, however, was enough. At the end of that time the father called his son home in order that he might begin his work in the academy.

The duties of the young boy in the country store were not different from those of the ordinary boy; nor are there any records to show that he was either more or less efficient or more or less active than the average young merchant of his kind. Since he became prominent every event of his life has been brought to light, and it has been found that even in those days whatever he did he did well, and that he left behind him a reputation for fidelity that was not soon forgotten. As was common in the early days of every new community, all the people of the surrounding

country found their way to this store. There he studied human nature to advantage, and got that insight into the motives of men which has been so useful to him during his public career. As a result of this experience and his natural gifts he has the faculty of knowing the people and knowing how to reach them—better perhaps than any other public man of our generation, with the exception of Abraham Lincoln, who had a training similar in many respects. Now, when he speaks of the “plain people of the land,” as he is wont to do with kindness and affection, it is from personal knowledge; he knows what these plain people have done and what they are doing; he knows the motives that guide them, and how to appeal to their intelligence so as to command the best results.

On joining his family at Clinton the lad entered the academy at that place. In this institution he made satisfactory progress in his studies and expected in due time to enter Hamilton College, where he would continue his educational training. But

these plans were never carried out, for in September, 1853, the family moved to Holland Patent, where the father had received a call from the Presbyterian Church. This was a village about fifteen miles from Utica. Only three weeks after this removal, on October 1, 1853, Richard F. Cleveland died and left his wife and children to struggle with the world as best they could. The mother remained in Holland Patent and kept with her such of her family as had not already gone out into the world to make their fortunes, and resided there the rest of her life, dying in 1882, only a few weeks before the nomination of Grover Cleveland as the candidate for Governor of New York, and while he was Mayor of Buffalo.

In the mean time the eldest son, William, had obtained employment as principal male teacher in the Institution for the Blind, in New York City, which had at that time about two hundred pupils. When the older brother returned from the funeral of his father he arranged with the trustees of the institution to give

employment to his younger brother, Grover; and during the month of October, 1853, the latter assumed the position of bookkeeper and assistant to the superintendent of that institution.

In order that I might obtain some information about the career of Grover Cleveland at the Institution for the Blind, and learn something of his character at that early age, I was fortunate enough to get from Miss Frances J. Crosby, a pupil and teacher in that institution from 1835 to 1858, her recollections of the young man as he appeared to her at that time.

Miss Crosby is an interesting character—one of those independent persons who will not permit misfortunes to keep them from hard work, or from attempting to satisfy some of their ambitions. For many years she has been recognized as one of the best hymn-writers of the country. During her early life she devoted herself with much assiduity to poetry and to the work of promoting the interests of the Institution for the Blind, then comparatively unknown and little appreciated by

the families of those so afflicted. She has done efficient work in every way, conquering for herself an excellent position.

In speaking of the man who has since come to such fame—her associate for a year in his early days—she says:

“When Grover Cleveland came to the Institution in 1853, he was in his seventeenth year. His mind was unusually well developed for his years; so well, in fact, that he might be called a marvel of precocity. He was nearly full grown as to height, but slender, though he had reached mental maturity many years earlier than the average man. He had an intellectual appearance; indeed, it was surprising that one so young was able to hold a position of such importance and to make his mark in it. He seemed to have about him even then the manner of a mature man. It was my fortune to make his acquaintance soon after he came to the Institution, and I felt, therefore, free to tell him, as I did many times, that he had a mind much in advance of his years, and I also used, with almost motherly caution, to say to him: ‘Take

care that you do not study too much and injure yourself.'

"Every moment of his spare time was given to the hardest kind of study. He was a persistent reader, devoting most of his attention to history, and developing even in those days something of a bent for the law, which he was finally to make his calling. But he did not confine his reading entirely to such solid matter. Many times he favored myself, and other teachers and pupils in the Institution, by reading to us from the poets. Among other authors who were favorites of his was Thomas Moore, from whom he read a good many selections, as well as from Byron. I remember that at one time he read Byron's 'Corsair' to me. Even then he had developed the faculty of hard work, which has so distinguished his later career, so that it is no new thing for him to burn the midnight oil. He did so even as a young man when I first knew him thirty-nine years ago.

"No man could have a kinder heart than had Grover Cleveland in those days—days

that, to most boys of his age, might be termed formative. He came to us almost immediately after the death of his father, and as a result he had an air of pensive sadness about him. He showed that he felt very keenly the loss of his father. This did not take the form of melancholia, but he used often to talk to me about his father in an intimate, familiar way that was touching and very natural. As a child, he had been brought up in a Christian household, under the ministrations of a father noted for his deep piety and of a mother distinguished for tenderness and care for her family.

“When he first came there I used often to talk to him when his office duties were over, and in due course of time we became good friends. Perhaps I knew him quite as well as any of the teachers or officers of the Institution. He came in contact with mature men and women there, many of whom have since become well known in various fields of work, and was able to meet them upon their own plane. He showed himself to be keen and thoughtful.

At the same time he was extremely modest; something I have noted with interest since his great public career has brought him before the people of his country.

“Indeed, the first time I met him after those early associations was in Lakewood, N. J., during the past winter. At that time I noticed the same modest demeanor. He was interested in telling me of an experience of his while President. A convention or meeting of blind people was held at Baltimore during that time, and he went there on purpose to see them. In recounting to me this incident he never referred to the matter as having occurred while he was President, but he used a form, which I am told he has almost uniformly adopted, of saying, ‘When I was in Washington’; in fact, I do not believe that during our interview he used the word President, or in any way said anything to indicate that he had held such an exalted office. This was thoroughly characteristic of him, as he was always anxious to avoid anything like praise or commendation of himself.

“He did not strike me during the period I knew him as a young man who would have a great number of friends, although he had a capacity for friendship. I thought that he was somewhat chary of giving his confidence to many people. This did not come from any feeling of vanity, but from his natural reserve. But when he came to know a person and gave his confidence, he did so fully and unreservedly. He was always kindly and sympathetic, and during his residence there the tendency was strongly developed at every turn. He resented occasional cruelties practiced by a superintendent, who lacked the qualities necessary for a successful administration of such an important place. I remember at one time, that when a boy was punished with undue severity, young Cleveland spoke to me about it with much feeling. He could not, of course, in his position, take steps to resent it by a physical demonstration, but he showed in every word and action that he would like to punish its perpetrator in the most effective way.

“I remember another incident that had

a bearing personal to myself. The same superintendent had about him a dictatorial way when he found himself in authority over anybody. It so happened one day that I went downstairs into the office, where Mr. Cleveland worked, and asked him to copy a poem. He did so, and when he had nearly finished the work, the superintendent came in and said, in a very insolent way: 'Miss Crosby, when you want Mr. Cleveland to copy a piece for you, I will thank you to come and ask me.' Of course I felt very much hurt, and when the superintendent went out, Mr. Cleveland said to me: 'Now, Fanny Crosby, how long do you intend to allow that man to harrow up your feelings like this?' I asked him: 'What can I do to stop it?' and he said, 'By giving as good as he sent.'

"I was nonplused, and in reply I said, 'Mr. Cleveland, I never was saucy in my life.' To this he replied: 'But it is not impudent to take your own part, and you never will be taught independence and self-reliance any younger. Now, we will

try an experiment. Come down to-morrow, and ask me to copy another poem for you. I will do so, and then you come in as usual and you will see the consequences, but in any event make up your mind never to let anyone impose upon you.' According to this agreement I went down and asked Mr. Cleveland to copy a poem for me. As was anticipated, the superintendent came in and made the same remark. Then I turned round and said to him: 'I want you to understand that I am second to no one in this Institution except yourself, and I have borne with your insolence so long that I will do so no longer; if it is repeated, I will report you to the managers.' The superintendent looked at me with the greatest astonishment, but my reply had just the effect that Mr. Cleveland said it would have. I never had any further trouble with the obnoxious superintendent, nor did he assume such a manner toward me or Mr. Cleveland any more.

"After young Cleveland left the Institution I myself remained until 1858. I

never heard from him or about him until he was nominated for Governor in 1882, while Mayor of Buffalo. But he took occasion the first time he heard from me to show his kindly feeling. While he was Governor one of my friends gave me a sort of benefit, and sent an invitation to the Governor. He immediately wrote back expressing regret at his inability to attend, but saying: 'I remember my old friend Fanny Crosby very well,' and in further token of his remembrance he sent to the friend managing the affair a neat little sum of money.

"I have always regretted that I did not keep up a correspondence with him after he became Governor or President; but in both cases I felt that, as I had neglected him for so many years, it would not seem just the right thing to open a correspondence with him then, because it might look as though I wanted to court favor. So I never met him again until at Lakewood last winter.

"I cannot say that I have been surprised at his rise to prominence and great-

ness. I always felt that he was a man far above the average, both intellectually and morally. He seemed to me to have great possibilities, so that one who came in contact with him in an intimate way, as I had an opportunity to do by reason of official association with him, would have predicted for him a successful career.

“I do not think that he looked upon his teaching work as other than preparatory for the more serious struggles of life. But he did his duty then, in a humble position, as conscientiously and as well as he has shown his ability to do it since in the large and important responsibilities thrust upon him.

“While he was Governor he made a visit to the Institution in company with the late Augustus Schell, who was one of the managers during Mr. Cleveland’s term of work there. Afterward, when I went to the Institution, I heard many of the inmates, some who had been there as pupils in his day, say: ‘Well, although Grover Cleveland rose to great power he did not forget the Institution of the Blind, and we all praise him for it.’

“It seems very odd to me to recall after nearly forty years the injunction of his older brother, William, to me. The brothers were very close friends and associates in spite of the fact that William was several years the elder. He always showed his desire to protect his younger brother, and would not allow anybody to be ungenerous or unjust to him. When they were first there together the younger brother was petted a good deal. Naturally, he grew out of this to some extent toward the close of the joint association there, and yet I recall with pleasure how William, when he was to be absent for a time, would say to me: ‘Well, I know you will be kind to my little brother’—a fatherly sort of feeling—something quite in consonance with the beautiful character of William Cleveland, who, even as a young man, was an exemplary Christian; generous to everyone in his class, just in everything he did. I could not speak too highly of either of them.”

CHAPTER II.

AS STUDENT AND LAWYER.

UPON his return to his mother's home, in the autumn of 1854, the young man began to think of making an independent career for himself. It has already been seen that he had formed his plans for becoming a lawyer. He sought congenial and remunerative work in the larger towns of Utica and Syracuse, but without encouragement. It was then that he resolved to go to Cleveland, O., a town named for one of his family. He stopped at Buffalo to see his uncle, Lewis F. Allen, then and long afterward a well-known farmer, who was engaged in the compilation each year of what was known as "The American Short-Horn Herd Book." The young man was easily persuaded to remain and assist his uncle, and so gave up the trip further west. It was this incident that fixed his residence at Buffalo, and enabled him to make that city the field of professional success and the wonderful political career which carried him, within so

short a time, to the highest office in the gift of his countrymen.

By the help of his uncle the young man was enabled to get a place as a student in the office of Bowen & Rogers, then and subsequently one of the leading firms of lawyers in the western part of the State of New York. Here he began his legal studies, living with his uncle, some distance away, and assisting in the compilation of the "Herd Book," which had then begun its course as an annual publication. In 1855 the compensation of the office boy had reached the sum of \$4 a week, and Mr. Cleveland, in his days of power and influence, has often recounted the fact that all this was paid out each recurring week for board. But he was able and willing to do hard work, and the first appearance of his name in print was perhaps a brief reference in the "Herd Book" for 1861, in which his uncle made the following acknowledgment:

"In the compilation of the second, third, fourth, and fifth volumes of this work, I take pleasure in expressing my acknowledg-

ments to the kindness, industry, and ability of my young friend and kinsman, Grover Cleveland, Esq., a gentleman of the legal profession, who has kindly assisted my labors in correcting and arranging the pedigrees for publication ; and to him is a portion of the credit due for the very creditable display which our American short-horns make before the agricultural public.”

It was in connection with this work that a new opportunity was afforded the young man for getting an insight into that plain life which he understands so well and which he lauds so often. Some time after he had begun the study of the law he secured rooms with an old school-mate from Fayetteville in the old Southern Hotel in Buffalo, which was then the resort for drovers and farmers. These plain and sensible people were perhaps surprised to find so much knowledge of their own business in a young law student, in, what was to them, a large city ; but his training in the country, and his work with his uncle, had given him this to such a degree that he was able without effort to impress himself upon the drovers and farmers as

an expert in their business and to gain from them that accurate knowledge of many kinds of men so useful to its possessor.

His life at this time was not out of the common run. He was a hard student, not only of his profession, but of the best literature as well. He continued here the habits that he had formed in his own home, and while away from it in the Institution for the Blind, in New York. He shirked no duties that fell to him, and did the work of each day as well as he could. He thus fixed the habit of thoroughness in everything he did; something that has enabled him to execute the great duties confided to him by his fellow-citizens with comparative ease to himself.

He was admitted to the bar in May, 1859. He did not immediately begin to practice law on his own account, but remained for four years longer with his preceptors, finally reaching the position of chief clerk. It has been recorded by those with whom he associated that he won their admiration by his industry, courage,

and honesty. They declared him to be thorough in everything that he undertook: that he mastered every subject he dealt with in all its bearings, and then, as now, made up his mind for himself, and, having done so, could not be swerved from his conviction of the right. Even then, his predominant quality of intellectual integrity often attracted attention and commanded respect, even when the efforts of more brilliant men might be forgotten. His salary as chief clerk was the modest one of \$600 a year in the beginning. This was increased year by year until, in the latter part of 1862, it had become \$1000. He had then reached the age of twenty-five.

Up to this time the young lawyer had not indulged any political aspirations. In 1858, when he reached his majority, he had cast his first vote for the Democratic party; but he had done more. In accordance with the custom of those times he took his place at the polls, and throughout the day distributed ballots by the side of the veterans of the party. He believed firmly in the principles of his party,

and thinking that it ought to win he undertook to do what he could to help it. And the custom thus established upon attaining his majority became a habit with him, one that he kept up regularly until his election as Governor. On each election day he would go to the polls and take his place, ballots in hand, remaining as a volunteer helper to his party and its candidates until the polls were closed, and in every exciting political canvass he marched in the procession when a great Democratic demonstration was made.

On the 1st of January, 1863, Grover Cleveland began his first independent work in his profession, by leaving the office of his preceptors and accepting an office that was professional as well as political. He had been appointed Assistant District Attorney of Erie County. In order to do so he gave up his salary of \$1000 a year to accept one of \$600. He was in no way dissatisfied with his office work or unduly ambitious, but he saw that a place in his profession would be reached much more quickly and surely by the training and ex-

perience of such a place. He was the only assistant in the office, and upon him fell most of the work, such as the filing of cases, the drawing of indictments, and the trial of many causes in the courts. The discipline and training he had gained as a student and teacher combined to give him much advantage in his profession. It was then that he fixed the habit of working late into the night, something that has clung to him during all the years of his political work. His position gave him confidence and enabled him to make a wide acquaintance among the people of the country towns, then, as now, important elements in the political life of Erie County. It also attracted to him the attention of clients and of his fellow-lawyers.

During his term in this office he was so busily engaged with the duties of it that when he was drafted as a soldier he could not leave his work to enter the army, and sent a substitute instead. In a family council it had been decided that as he was earning enough money to make his contributions valuable to the family he should

not enter the army. Two of his brothers, Richard Cecil and Lewis Frederick, early entered the army in 1861 and served throughout the whole of the war. It may be interesting to add that the money paid as a bounty to his substitute was borrowed from his superior, the District Attorney, and that it was not until the expiration of his term, and after the war itself had closed, that he was able to save enough money to pay back the loan.

It was inevitable that young Cleveland should be drawn into politics by his service as District Attorney. From this time he was recognized as a rising figure in Democratic politics, and so at the expiration of the term of his superior officer, Cyrenius C. Torrance, it was natural that his party should turn to him as a candidate for District Attorney. By this time he had become well known and popular in the county, and the Republicans recognized that in spite of their great majority they had no easy task to defeat him. At first their attention was directed to a lawyer then residing in Erie

County, Horace Boies by name. He was some years older than Mr. Cleveland, but in many respects they much resembled each other. After the managers had cast about among themselves they concluded at first to nominate Boies, although he was then comparatively unknown, even much less so than his opponent, whose nomination was already assured. It was in this way that two men now prominent in the councils of the Democratic party—one of whom was then a member of the opposing party—came to know each other. Thus it was that Grover Cleveland came into contact with Horace Boies, now and for some years the Democratic Governor of Iowa.

Among the intimate personal friends of Mr. Cleveland at that time was Lyman K. Bass, a young Republican lawyer, afterward a member of congress. At this time, when the Republicans concluded that they must select their strongest candidate, Bass and Cleveland were not only close personal friends, but room-mates. One night the former came home and said,

“Well, Cleve, I have been offered the nomination for District Attorney against you.” In reply he was asked, “Well, why don’t you take it?” And the result was that he did; and that he was elected by a narrow majority.

His friends even now recall the good humor with which Mr. Cleveland took his defeat, and how he turned his attention at once to his profession as an independent practitioner. He did this by forming a partnership with Isaac V. Vanderpool, and about the same time declined the appointment of Assistant District Attorney, tendered him by the late William Dorsheimer, then just appointed by President Johnson as United States Attorney for the Northern District of New York. A little later he associated himself with A. P. Laning and Oscar Folsom, the latter one of his closest friends, who had himself accepted the office declined by Cleveland. The name of the firm was Laning, Cleveland & Folsom. This firm soon attained a high position at the bar of Buffalo, and Mr.

Cleveland had a chance to demonstrate how well he had profited by his experience in an important public place.

This association continued until 1870, when Mr. Cleveland's friends offered him the nomination for Sheriff of Erie County. He hesitated for some time about accepting this office; his reluctance being due to the fact that it was not common for lawyers to accept the office of Sheriff, but he finally concluded that there were many reasons why he should consider this matter. He had worked hard ever since he was a boy of seventeen, and he himself declared he had had so little time for reading, and for thorough professional study, that he thought the Sheriff's office, by taking him out of practice for a time and still keeping him about the courts in professional relations, would afford him considerable leisure for this coveted improvement. There was, too, another important element, in that it would enable him to make and save a modest competence. Stating the case to his friends in this way he took their advice, accepted the nomination, and was

elected. He performed the duties of the office well and conscientiously. The result was that upon the expiration of his term of office, on January 1, 1874, he returned to the practice of the law a stronger and broader man than he had been before, and at once took a higher place than he had ever held or than he would, perhaps, have attained in the same time if he had continued to practice uninterruptedly.

When his term of office expired he formed a partnership with his old rival, Lyman K. Bass, and a younger associate, now known as one of the most thorough lawyers in the western part of the State of New York and one of the most influential men—Wilson S. Bissell. With some changes in personnel the firm was maintained until Mr. Cleveland's inauguration as Governor, in January, 1883.

By this time he had become one of the best lawyers of his city and of the western part of the State. Careful attention to every detail of his work, a conscientious desire to do his duty to his clients, and to the public, unwearied industry—these were

the principal traits that commended him to his clients and to the public. He maintained his interest in politics, though he gave no attention to it so far as seeking place was concerned. Occasionally, he was a delegate to a State convention, and he kept up his habit of activity at the polls as well as at the primaries of his party. But he was not looked upon as an ambitious man; nor, it may be said with truth, would the public have looked to him as the one man in his city who would be likely to have great responsibilities thrust upon him.

His success in politics has obscured to some degree his work as a lawyer, and in order that there may be a better understanding of this the author has been fortunate enough to secure from his former partner and close friend, Wilson S. Bissell, an estimate of his professional work. He writes:

“BUFFALO, N. Y., August 1, 1892.

“DEAR MR. PARKER:

“My acquaintance with Mr. Cleveland began in August, 1869. I had just graduated from Yale and made application

for and was admitted to a clerkship in the office of Laning, Cleveland & Folsom, the firm of which he was a member, and which was then just organized. The firm did a very large business. They were the attorneys for the New York Central and the other Vanderbilt railroads centering at Buffalo, and they had a large miscellaneous practice as well. I was one of the six clerks employed by them. They defended the New York Central Railroad in a class of suits brought to recover penalties for overcharge of fare. These suits became a very remarkable class of litigation, aggregating more than three thousand in number.

“I soon found that Mr. Cleveland was the ‘working member.’ Laning and Folsom were both brilliant men, but Cleveland was undoubtedly the most profound lawyer and was the mainstay of the office. He was generally the first one in the office in the morning and the last one out of it at night, and all the hours of these long days were devoted with patience and zeal to the work he found before him.

“ He had already attained prominence at the bar, the result of no influence or relationships or of adventitious circumstance, but of patient industry and of downright—and always upright—hard work. And so, even then, he was of the lawyers of his years *facile princeps*. His further achievements as a lawyer, which brought him into the very front rank of his profession, were only the added and natural results of his untiring industry and energy. To these the other disadvantages of limited education and early mental training also yielded.

“ How well and how encouraging it would be to the younger struggling lawyers of to-day if they could appreciate the exact truthfulness of these statements, and take the lesson of it to themselves! True, he was endowed with a great fund of good common sense, and he was honest—honest with himself, honest with his client, honest with his subject. He thus became, mentally, rather judicial than partisan, and he would have made as able and capable a Chief Justice as he was a President.

“In the trial of a cause he neither relied on ‘genius’ nor the inspiration of the moment to help him out, but upon most careful and painstaking preparation of the case in advance and the anticipation of every possible adverse contingency. Before the trial he was always timid and self-distrustful; once pushed or dragged into court by his client, however, he was not only part and parcel of the case, but bold and self-reliant; and through much practice he acquired great skill and sagacity in marshaling his facts before the jury.

“During a trial he would devote himself to the case absolutely and completely, whether it was large or small, whether with fee or without, and for a rich client or for a poor one. The noon hour was, for him, always an opportunity for further study and preparation—not for eating—and the hours of the night, not infrequently the whole night, a further opportunity.

“And so he honestly bought and paid for success with honest work. In an address before the bar on the occasion of the

death of his devoted personal friend, Oscar Folsom, referring to his qualities as a lawyer, he said: 'In the practice of his profession, and in the solution of legal questions, he clearly saw which was right and just, and then he expected to find the law leading him directly there.' This with truthfulness could and should be said of Mr. Cleveland himself.

"In those days it was the habit of the judges of that locality, more than now, when a close legal question would arise in a trial, to call for an opinion upon it in open court from some lawyer in the courtroom not engaged in the case. So good and well recognized was Cleveland's judgment, and so great his legal attainments, that he would almost invariably be the lawyer thus consulted, whenever he happened to be present.

"*'The law is a jealous mistress,'* but there was never occasion in Cleveland's case to suggest a lack of devotion. Of course it would have been impossible to yield such devotion to his profession if he had not loved it; but he loved his pro-

fessional work, found his greatest pleasure and satisfaction in it, and he loved also the study of the law as a science.

“This fact will serve to explain the interruption in his professional career which he permitted when he became Sheriff. His opportunity for considering that step was less, perhaps, than of any important act of his life. The circumstances were these: There was an important local ticket to be nominated, and there seemed a fair opportunity to overcome a normally large adverse majority by the selection of a strong combination of candidates. Cleveland was popular, and had made a splendid run for District Attorney of the county not long before. On the day before the nominating convention was to be held it was suggested that Cleveland should take the nomination. Such a contingency had never entered his mind, and he at first declined to listen to the suggestion. Party managers then surrounded him, and at length successfully urged upon him the importance of the subject as a party matter, and his duty and obligation

to his party. Yet in connection with his reluctant assent was the consideration, expressed to me that day, that if he should be elected it would afford him a longed-for and splendid opportunity to study law.

“His partners were loath to lose him, both because they were personally much attached to him and because they had come to know and rely upon his great strength and ability as a lawyer. He had had the laboring oar in all their more important litigations, and was in the midst of great activity and usefulness. He was conservative by nature and a safe counselor. Indeed, if he erred at all, it was on the side of conservatism and safety.

“Mr. Cleveland was in the best sense a successful lawyer. He never belonged to the class of ‘money-making’ lawyers, although he often received large fees for his professional services. He always met his personal obligations promptly, and he abhorred debt; but he never had any desire to accumulate a fortune, and he was generous to a degree. I recall the fact that, on resuming the practice of law after the

expiration of his term as Sheriff, his first act was to lend a considerable sum of money to a poor client in distress. His generosity was evidenced not alone by direct gifts of money, but by professional advice and service. He tried many a case without fee or the expectation of it, and often intervened to prevent the doing of injustice because of his hatred of injustice. A notable instance of this was his devotion to the case of Flannigan before Governor Cornell. Cleveland's first relation with the case was after the man had been sentenced to be hanged, and despite Cornell's well-known disinclination to exercise the pardon power, he secured a commutation of the sentence to life imprisonment.

"It seemed to him always a pleasure as well as a duty to give aid and counsel to the younger members of the bar, and many a successful lawyer of to-day in Buffalo will recall and attest the readiness and cheerfulness with which he aided in complicated legal situations, or assisted as counsel in the trial of causes, accepting for himself at most nothing but nominal fees.

“On January 1, 1874, he resumed the practice of law, becoming a member of the firm of Bass, Cleveland & Bissell. Mr. Bass was then a member of Congress, and by reason of failing health he removed to Colorado to reside at the expiration of his term of office, so that Mr. Cleveland became practically the head of the firm at once. The business of the office was large and active, consisting of a general miscellaneous practice, and he applied himself to it as assiduously as ever during the ensuing eight years. This was the period of his greatest activity and usefulness as a lawyer. He tried and argued cases in all the courts of the State and in the District and Circuit Courts of the United States. He was one of the counsel for the plaintiff who secured the largest verdict ever rendered by a jury in Western New York—upwards of \$240,000. He worked incessantly, and his vacation period never exceeded ten days in the year.

“He was engaged in the trial of a case in court in October, 1881, when he was again

called upon by his party to do further public service by accepting the nomination for Mayor of Buffalo, which was then tendered and urged upon him. He yielded to this demand the more readily because he saw before him not only an opportunity to serve his party, but to perform a public duty, and, although he remained a partner in the law firm of Cleveland, Bissell & Sicard during the following year, still, with characteristic regard for and conscientious devotion to the performance of official duty, his personal interests as a lawyer were set aside for a time, and, as events proved, for seven years.

“Two things remain to be said in portraying Mr. Cleveland’s career as a lawyer: One, that in all his varied relations with clients, lawyers, and courts his every act was characterized by the highest sense of honor and by the most delicate appreciation of and compliance with all the rules of professional ethics; and the other, that every professional engagement, great or small, received the best judgment, thought, and energy of which he was capable.

Nothing he undertook was slighted ; therefore all his work was done well.

“Yours sincerely,

“W. S. BISSELL.”

CHAPTER III.

AS MAYOR OF BUFFALO.

THE people of Buffalo had reached such a stage in municipal development that they were ready to welcome just such a man as Grover Cleveland had proved himself to be. It was growing rapidly in population and wealth, as well as in comparative position. It had long been the principal business center of the western part of the State of New York. At the terminus of the Erie Canal and the head of lake navigation, it had obtained an importance which its early settlers, and even its later residents, scarcely appreciated.

It was not unnatural, either, that it should develop the abuses apparently inseparable from the government of American municipalities. It had grown so

rapidly from a village to a town, and from a town to a city, that the methods of its earlier days had been outgrown, and yet, neither the people nor the system had been thoroughly readjusted to the new surroundings. For many years political conditions had been bad. The worst practices incident to municipal maladministration had obtained a foothold. Politics had got into the business of the city, and the business of the city had, to a certain extent, been given over to politics. It was Republican by a substantial majority, but there was then, as now, a large number of Independents among the voters. The people saw clearly enough that, if the conditions then existing were permitted to continue, their city would suffer not only in development but in credit.

So, when in the autumn of 1881 they cast about them for a proper man to fill the office of Mayor, the Democrats turned their attention to the quiet lawyer, who, after filling with acceptance the various offices to which he had been called, had returned at once to his professional work. Much

against his will, he was nominated by the Democratic City Convention for Mayor on October 25, 1881. There were a large number of offices to fill at this election, and a good many elements to be satisfied. The matter was broached to Mr. Cleveland, and he declined at first to consider it seriously. Finally, when importunity became stronger, he consented to accept the nomination in case the convention would select a ticket that should be satisfactory in every way to the reform element in the Democratic party and among the citizens. As the result of this, the ordinary rules of procedure were reversed, and nominations were made for all the minor offices before a candidate for Mayor was chosen. In this way a thoroughly good ticket was secured, questionable elements were relegated to the rear, and the candidate for Mayor was enabled to make his canvass upon the high ground of promoting the interests of his city, and of keeping his party up to the highest possible standard.

It is not my purpose to quote largely from Mr. Cleveland's speeches and let-

ters.* They have now been made accessible in permanent form, so that what may be denominated the old-fashioned documentary sketch is no longer a necessity. But it will, perhaps, be pertinent to set out in this place two or three paragraphs from his speech accepting the nomination for Mayor of Buffalo.

After emphasizing his reluctance to accept the nomination, but insisting that "because I am a Democrat, and because I think no one has a right at this time, of all others, to consult his own inclinations as against the call of his party and fellow-citizens, and hoping that I may be of use to you in your efforts to inaugurate a better rule in municipal affairs, I accept the nomination tendered me," he proceeded to lay down the principles upon which he thought an office like that of Mayor of a city such as Buffalo should be conducted. He did this in words which, taking into consideration his later career, ought to be remembered. He said :

* "The Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland." Edited by George F. Parker. New York : Cassell Publishing Company.

"I believe that much can be done to relieve our citizens from their present load of taxation, and that a more rigid scrutiny of all public expenditures will result in a great saving to the community. I also believe that some extravagance in our city government may be corrected without injury to the public service.

"There is, or there should be, no reason why the affairs of our city should not be managed with the same care and the same economy as private interests. And when we consider that public officials are the trustees of the people, and hold their places and exercise their powers for the benefit of the people, there should be no higher inducement to a faithful and honest discharge of public duty.

"These are very old truths, but I cannot forbear to speak in this strain to-day, because I believe the time has come when the people loudly demand that these principles shall be, sincerely and without mental reservation, adopted as a rule of conduct. And I am satisfied that the result of the campaign upon which we enter to-day will demonstrate that the citizens of Buffalo will not tolerate the man or the party that has been unfaithful to public trusts."

He closed his address by pledging himself that, "If elected to the position for which you have nominated me, I shall do my whole duty to the party, but none

the less, I hope, to the citizens of Buffalo."

It may not be inapt to compare a single phrase in the address just alluded to when he was a candidate for Mayor of his city with one of his latest utterances after he had served his country in the highest office within the gift of its people. He said to the convention that nominated him :

"Let us, then, in all sincerity, promise the people an improvement in our municipal affairs, and if the opportunity is offered us, as it surely will be, let us then faithfully keep that promise. By this means, and by this means alone, can our success rest upon a firm foundation and our party ascendancy be permanently assured."

Nearly eleven years after, in the presence of 20,000 of his countrymen, he accepted for the third time the call of his party to become the candidate for President of the United States. In the speech made upon that wonderful occasion—something that in the future will be looked upon as historic—he said :

"Let us tell the people plainly and honestly what we believe and how we propose to serve the interests of the entire country, and

then let us, after the manner of true Democracy, rely upon the thoughtfulness and patriotism of our fellow-countrymen.”

In the canvass that followed, Mr. Cleveland was able to command not only the united support of his own partisans but of a considerable element among his opponents. Some of the most influential of the Republican newspapers either gave him their support openly or refused to oppose him in the usual bitter way. The movement in his favor became one full of enthusiasm. The candidate declared at the beginning of it that he would not permit the use of money for the influencing of votes and that he would make no canvass in the saloons. But he neglected no legitimate means to deserve and command the support of the people. As a result of a canvass begun and carried on in this spirit, Mr. Cleveland was elected Mayor by a majority of 3500, the largest up to that time ever given to a candidate for that office in Buffalo. He was not only successful himself, but carried the entire Democratic ticket through by good and sufficient majorities.

Coming into politics and into an executive position under such circumstances, he began to prepare himself for the important and responsible duties that he must assume within a few weeks. He put his law business into such condition that he might intrust it mainly to his partners, and prepared to give up practically his whole time to his work as Mayor. He was fortunate here, as he has been during his career, in securing a most efficient private secretary in Harmon S. Cutting, who was a devoted friend, a lawyer of excellent standing and large experience, who had had excellent opportunities for obtaining a knowledge of municipal law.

The new Mayor entered upon his duties in the spirit shown in every other place that he has held thus far. He looked upon the promises made at the time of his nomination not merely as something by which he had been able to secure his election, but as something to be redeemed. He saw no reason why the business of a city—that is, the paving, lighting, the cleaning of the streets, and the general con-

duct of its affairs—should not be conducted as economically and as conscientiously as if they were the private concerns of the men to whom they were intrusted. He thought first of the city; next, perhaps, of his party—recognizing that it was impossible to escape party responsibilities; and last, of himself, except so far as he reached the determination to do his duty without fear or favor.

He entered upon his official duties January 1, 1882. No formal inauguration was necessary; but on the following day he sent to the Common Council an elaborate message, which may be said to bear a close resemblance to what might be termed an inaugural message from a Governor or President. In this document, the first elaborate one by which he is known to the public as an executive officer, and in which he indulged in that plain speaking, the knowledge of which has become so universal, he said:

“We hold the money of the people in our hands to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality, and it is quite apparent that

when any part of the funds which the taxpayers have thus intrusted to us is diverted to other purposes, or when, by design or neglect, we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than is necessary, we have, to that extent, violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations, whether a person is intrusted with the money of one man or many. And yet it sometimes appears as though the officeholder assumes that a different rule of fidelity prevails between him and the taxpayers than that which should regulate his conduct when, as an individual, he holds the money of his neighbor.

“It seems to me that a successful and faithful administration of the government of our city may be accomplished by bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust, to be expended for their benefit; that we should at all times be prepared to render an honest account to them touching the manner of its expenditure, and that the affairs of the city should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns.”

He then assured the legislative department of the city government that, so far as it was in his power, he would co-operate with them in securing the faithful performance of official duty in every depart-

ment of the government intrusted to them. In the declarations above quoted there is something of the sentiment that has now become familiar to all the people in the land. It was refreshing, even in a comparatively small city, to find such a lofty appreciation of the duties incumbent upon a man who held an important executive office. The people of Buffalo saw that they had found a man far above the average—one who was likely to begin a work which would revolutionize the government of their city.

In the same message, proceeding from the enunciation of general principles to details, he demonstrated that he had gained a close knowledge of the different departments of the government he was to administer. He had gone so far as to discover how much the city had paid for the construction of plank sidewalks, showing that the same kind of work was done for private citizens at a price nearly one-third less, and he cited this, which many an official would have overlooked, as an example of the difference between work for the

public and work for individuals, and insisted that he saw no good reason why the city should not let its contracts as cheaply as anybody. He suggested a method for overcoming this difficulty by providing that all work of this kind should be let to the lowest bidder, and expressed the opinion that the adoption of this plan, with a thorough system of inspection, would enable the city to get what it wanted, and what it paid for, at reasonable prices.

In like manner he went carefully into the question of the cleaning of the streets, and in this matter, too, suggested plans which would correct the then existing abuses. He found that extravagance prevailed in the repairing and refurnishing of public school buildings, and so he not only adjured the Common Council to exercise a reasonable economy, but suggested that committees of citizens in the several districts might, if they would take the work upon themselves, be able to avoid much useless expenditure.

He devoted his attention to the abuses

incident to the public printing and insisted that it should not be given to newspapers as a reward for party service, or appear merely as "an item of political patronage."

He found that the duties performed by the City Auditor were looked upon as largely perfunctory, and that, instead of investigating carefully every account presented to him, he deemed his duty done when he audited and verified the footings. He insisted that this officer "should inquire into the merits of the claims presented to him." He went so far as to insist that the city offices should not be closed at the early hour of the day then usual, without regard to the interests of the public.

Taken all in all, the first message of the new Mayor was like a fresh breeze blowing through the fever-infected district of a city. Disclaiming any desire to dictate to the Common Council as to the performance of its duties, and recognizing that the responsibility of legislation remained with it, he nevertheless gave them an amount of information that was scarcely to be

expected from a man new to the duties of an office, and that, too, one who had not been known to give special attention to the affairs of his city.

He was soon, however, to give evidence not only of a close knowledge of the condition of the business intrusted to him, but the Common Council found that he had a faculty for finding out all the weak spots in their conduct of the public affairs. Within a fortnight after his inaugural message had been sent to the Common Council, the Mayor took occasion to show that his opinion on the question of patronage for newspapers was something not merely to be spoken of on such occasions and to be put aside in practice. So, when three German newspapers were designated to do the city printing, at an expense of \$800 a year each, he vetoed the resolution, in spite of the fact that the German population of Buffalo bore a very important relation to the entire number of its inhabitants. He insisted that there was no occasion for spending the people's money in publishing a synopsis of the

Council's proceedings, and in the course of the message he laid down a principle often forgotten by executive officers and legislators. He said :

“The German newspapers mentioned in the resolution depend for their success upon the amount and value of the news or information they furnish to their patrons. We will assume that some account of the proceedings of the Common Council—in other words, that a synopsis of such proceedings—is of importance and interest to their readers. I am quite sure we may safely calculate that, from motives of self-interest, the proprietors of these newspapers will publish a synopsis much more satisfactory to their subscribers than any which the City Clerk would be apt to prepare, and they would do so for their own profit and without any compensation from the city.”

He characterized this appropriation as coming “very near being a most objectionable subsidy,” which nobody ought to encourage, and which he did not believe the people of the city would tolerate. In this case he began to carry out the policy since followed of not asking how it would affect his political friends or their interests—one

of the papers affected by the resolution being Democratic. But most important of all, he emphasized the policy so often overlooked, that, left to themselves, the public would be able to get, without expense, and as the result of private enterprise, those things so often paid for out of the public treasury.

He continued this careful examination of the ordinances that came to him from the Common Council. Scarcely a week passed that he did not send to that body a veto message, often expressed in language so positive and strong that the Council scarcely knew how to deal with it. Every detail of the municipal service thus passed under careful examination—not by a clerk or private secretary, but by the official head of the city himself. He vetoed extravagant printing bills, provisions for extra pay for clerks, and gave special attention to legislation looking to the improvement of the water supply and the sewerage of the city. When an attempt was made to evade the law by dividing contracts into several parts, in order to escape the provision requiring

advertisement, he interposed his objection successfully.

During the month of May, after assuming the duties of his office, the Common Council passed a resolution directing the City Clerk to draw a warrant on the Fourth of July Fund for \$500, payable to the order of the Memorial Day Committee of the Grand Army of the Republic, for the purpose of defraying the expenses attending a proper observation of Memorial Day. This brought forth one of the documents which came to be known in Buffalo as the "Plain Speech Vetoes," although the one containing that particular phrase was not issued until a month later. He contended that the resolutions in question were forbidden by the Constitution of the State, as well as the charter of the city, which made it a misdemeanor to appropriate money collected for one purpose to any other object, and he therefore saw no reason why he should permit money received by taxation to be diverted to the celebration of Memorial Day. In avowing his purpose he declared :

“I deem the object of this appropriation a most worthy one. The efforts of our veteran soldiers to keep alive the memory of their fallen comrades certainly deserves the aid and encouragement of their fellow-citizens. We should all, I think, feel it a duty and a privilege to contribute to the funds necessary to carry out such a purpose, and I should be much disappointed if an appeal to our citizens for voluntary subscriptions for this patriotic object should be in vain; but the money so contributed should be a free gift of the citizens and taxpayers, and should not be extorted from them by taxation.”

The day before this message was sent to the Common Council he wrote to the Chairman of the Memorial Day Committee the following letter:

“BUFFALO, May 7, 1882.

“JOHN M. FARQUHAR, ESQ.,

“DEAR SIR: I have tried very hard, but fail to find a way, consistently to approve the resolution of the Common Council appropriating \$500 for the observance of Decoration Day.

“If my action has the effect of stopping the payment of this sum for the purpose, and you attempt to raise the necessary sum by subscription, you may call on me for \$50.

“Yours very truly,

“GROVER CLEVELAND.”

He thus proved his faith by his works. The necessary sum was quickly raised, and the principles which he had commended were successfully asserted.

Probably nothing in his career as Mayor attracted wider attention than this act. Here was an object which the Mayor himself declared to be a worthy one. He was a member, too, of a party that had been the victim of much obloquy from its opponents on the question of its relations to the Civil War; but the leading newspapers, not only of his own city, but of the State in general, without distinction of party, cordially approved his brief and plain-speaking message, and the reputation of Buffalo's reform Mayor began to broaden.

But if this message had such an effect, it was merely preparatory to another and by all odds the most important veto message written by Mr. Cleveland during his term as Mayor. This concerned the cleaning of the streets, and is generally known by the name of the "Plain-Speech Veto." The Common Council passed an ordinance awarding the contract for cleaning the

streets for the term of five years for \$422,500. This was more than one hundred thousand dollars higher than the bid made by another contractor equally responsible, and fifty thousand dollars more than that made by the same contractor only a few weeks before. In his veto message, which would fill little more than a quarter of a column of an ordinary city newspaper, he said :

“This is a time for plain speech, and my objection to the action of your honorable body now under consideration shall be plainly understood. I withhold my assent from the same because I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent, and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people, and to worse than squander the public money.

“I will not be misunderstood in this matter. There are those whose votes were given for this resolution whom I cannot and will not suspect of a willful neglect of the interests they are sworn to protect ; but it has been fully demonstrated that there are influences in and about your honorable body which it behooves every honest man to watch and avoid with the greatest care.

“When cool judgment rules the hour, the people will, I hope and believe, have no reason to complain of the action of your

honorable body. But clumsy appeals to prejudice or passion, insinuations, with a kind of low, cheap cunning as to the motives and purposes of others, and the mock heroism of brazen effrontery which openly declare that a wholesome public sentiment is to be set at naught, sometimes deceive and lead honest men to aid in the consummation of schemes which, if exposed, they would look upon with abhorrence."

The closing paragraph of the same message is also interesting, as well as important to an understanding of the character of the man with whom the Common Council of Buffalo had to deal then, and with whom the American people have dealt since. In it he said:

"We are fast gaining positions in the grades of public stewardships. There is no middle ground. Those who are not for the people, either in or out of your honorable body, are against them, and should be treated accordingly."

It is little wonder that such sentiments as these, expressed with almost brutal directness, with a force that proved to the public that truth lay behind them—should have drawn upon him a great deal of abuse from the men whose motives were thus ex-

posed; but the more the politicians or the jobbers undertook to misrepresent him, the more strongly was the public drawn to this man of strong character and iron will.

He found, too, that the construction of an intercepting sewer for the city was being used as a basis for jobbery; so, in message after message, and in veto after veto, he combated the measure, and was finally successful in saving to the city about \$800,000, which, but for him, would have been expended uselessly or corruptly.

In the same way he insisted that his appointments, to which then, as ever, he gave much careful attention, should be confirmed by the City Council, and a failure to do so in the case of the Sewage Commissioners enabled him to bring the Common Council to terms and to put this important service upon a permanent business basis. By doing this he did a lasting service to a great and growing city, the good effects of which are still apparent.

No attempt has been made to review fully the relations of Grover Cleveland to

the Common Council of Buffalo or to his administration of the duties of his office as the Mayor of that city. But these are specimens of the work he undertook to do. He had entered upon the duties of his office with a distinct declaration that he would administer it in a business way, and he showed that he had meant what he said, and that, so far as in him lay, he would redeem his promise.

Long before half of his term had expired he was recognized as something more than a mere Mayor of Buffalo—as other than an official figure in the third city of his State, and his name began to be discussed as one to whom higher honors might come. But in all this he took no part. He simply went in and out about his work, thinking of nothing else; trying only to see how he could best subserve the interests confided to him. There is universal agreement among all who came in contact with him then, and at other times, that he never used one office as a stepping-stone to another. He felt that it was all he could do to be Mayor of Buffalo

so long as the duties of that office were incumbent upon him. He did not aspire to be Governor, and thought much less seriously of it than did his friends, who, soon after the expiration of half his first year as Mayor, presented his name for that office.

During his term as Mayor he first developed those wonderful qualities of speech-making which have made him one of the most influential public speakers in his country. He did not make many speeches, and none of them were long. At the celebration of the Semi-Centennial of Buffalo he spoke with great acceptance, as he did also at the laying of the corner stone of the Young Men's Christian Association. He was the presiding officer at a mass meeting to protest against the imprisonment of Americans abroad. On each occasion he spoke briefly and clearly, preparing his addresses carefully, and delivering them with whatever force and power he could command.

He thus gave evidence that he was not a mere cheese-parer, who expected to make a reputation by cutting off an insignificant

appropriation, but an official who, having a thorough knowledge of the business in hand, was determined that it should be conducted upon right principles. It is not to be wondered at, that, coming forward at such a time, a man like this should be thought of for higher honors. The people are accustomed to look for such men, and scan the political horizon with eager gaze for signs of their appearance.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CANVASS FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP.

FOR many years the people of Western New York had thought themselves slighted because neither of the great parties had nominated one of their citizens as a candidate for Governor. So, in 1882, it was only natural for the local pride of the old Eighth Judicial District, and especially that of the city of Buffalo, to assert itself without much regard for parties, so far as the nomination was concerned, and to present for higher office the man who had so

distinguished himself in the office of Mayor of Buffalo. It mattered little that his rise had been rapid, or that he had not been known as the holder of an office which brought him into close relation with, and intimate knowledge of, the people of the State. Perhaps the lack of these things contributed something to the demand for his promotion. When an official has done so well as Grover Cleveland had in performing the duties of the office of Mayor of an important city, the people are apt to look upon him as a man who has not been carried into office by some tidal wave of party feeling, or as a protest against unworthy men, or the dominance of bad methods. It is common, when reputations are made within a very brief time, to attribute a good deal of it to luck, but the people know better; they know it is not chance that makes a man an efficient administrator in an executive office, and they reason from such a success that if this man, having good abilities and due and proper modesty, is promoted to an office still higher he will carry into

it the same characteristics that made him useful to his fellow-citizens in a smaller sphere.

When, therefore, in 1882, the Democrats of the two great cities on the opposite sides of the East River presented each an active aspirant for the nomination for Governor, it was logical that the people of the western and central parts of the State, who had had their attention directed to Mr. Cleveland's career, should present him for promotion at the hands of his party. This was done without any active participation by himself. His friends, many of them members of the party which he had always opposed, made up their minds to present his name for nomination by the Democratic Convention, which was to be held on September 22, at Syracuse. They formed their committees, made their allotment of work for themselves, easily carried the local caucuses and those in their immediate neighborhood, and were ready to go down to Syracuse with a considerable number of delegates.

When these local delegates started to

Syracuse a good many of them intimated that perhaps they would like to have their candidate, who was comparatively unknown to the great majority of the men who made up the membership of the convention, run down to the meeting place merely to show himself. He ridiculed the suggestion and had no intention of complying; but late in the evening of the day before the convention was to meet his friends telegraphed him with such urgency that he finally consented to go, almost without time for preparation. He reached Syracuse late in the evening, met the late Daniel Manning—the then dominant leader of the party in his State—for the first time, and thoroughly impressed upon the minds of the latter and his friends the fact that a new personality had appeared in the Democratic politics of the State. Then he returned to Buffalo and was at his desk in the Mayor's office at the usual hour the next morning.

In the convention the next day a fair proportion of the votes were cast for him on the first ballot. On the second ballot his support was largely augmented, and the

drift became so strong toward him, while the antagonism between the two candidates from the eastern part of the State was intensified, that he was nominated by a substantial majority on the third ballot.

Then followed one of the most remarkable canvasses in the history of the State of New York or any other. The Republican candidate, nominated at the Republican Convention held a fortnight earlier than that of its rival, was the late Charles J. Folger, who had been for many years a prominent man in his State, and was then the incumbent of the office of Secretary of the Treasury in the Cabinet of President Chester A. Arthur. He had been Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals, was a man of large attainments, great experience in political work, and the highest possible character.

But these very virtues were turned against the worthy man who had become the beneficiary of bad methods in politics. Immediately the cry was raised that the Republican Convention which had nominated this excellent candidate for Governor

had been controlled and dominated in every part by the National Administration, and that it had sought not only to dictate the head of the ticket in the State, but practically to appoint the man who should become Governor. Immediately the independent elements everywhere took alarm; one after another of the leading men of the Republican party in every portion of the State bolted the nomination thus made and allied themselves with the candidate nominated by the Democratic Convention. Some of the strongest Republican newspapers pursued the same policy, and exposed with unsparing severity the methods that had been used to secure the nomination of Judge Folger, and commended with equal emphasis the independent man who had been nominated in spite of the aspirations of the representatives of his party who had sought the honor.

In a little more than a fortnight after the adjournment of the Syracuse convention, Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance appeared. It was a short, concise, plain, well-written document, without a

trace of demagoguery in it; devoted entirely to State issues, each of which he treated with sufficient fullness to make his views understood, and with the wonderful force and clearness which have now become so widely recognized.

A single paragraph may bear quotation even after the lapse of many years, and in spite of the fact that the whole of it has been so often reprinted and is accessible in his published works. He said :

“The importance of wise statesmanship in the management of public affairs cannot, I think, be overestimated. I am convinced, however, that the perplexities and the mystery often surrounding the administration of State concerns grow, in a great measure, out of an attempt to serve partisan ends rather than the welfare of the citizen. We may, I think, reduce to quite simple elements the duty which public servants owe, by constantly bearing in mind that they are put in place to protect the rights of the people, to answer their needs as they arise, and to expend, for their benefit, the money drawn from them by taxation.”

From that time forward the canvass in favor of the election of Mr. Cleveland moved along with a force that was resist-

less. He made no speeches ; he did not even show himself in the older parts of the State, where he was almost entirely unknown. He went about his work in Buffalo, giving some attention, however, then, as he always has done when a candidate for office, to the detail management of the canvass. Little of a politician, in the usual sense of that term, he has, after all, had more facilities for obtaining correct information as to the condition of public opinion than any dozen ordinary politicians or managers combined. These he has always used legitimately with much effect. When the election was held and the votes counted, it was found that Grover Cleveland had 192,854 votes more than had been cast for Charles J Folger.

Nothing like this had ever been known in American politics. Here was a man, who to the ordinary politician was an obscure man, one who had never held an office outside of a small part of the great State which he had been called on to govern by the most decisive majority cast

in a disputed election in any State of the Union.

In this day of triumph, when his partisans everywhere were indulging themselves in demonstrations of enthusiasm the man who was the subject of it felt perhaps a stronger sense of responsibility than any man ever chosen to such an office in any State. But there was no vanity, no exultation, no assertion, even in his most confidential relations with his friends, of any feeling but the sense of responsibility that rested upon him and the expression of a fear that he might not be able to carry it out to his own satisfaction. On the night of election day he wrote the following letter to his brother:

“MAYOR’S OFFICE,

“BUFFALO, N. Y., November 7, 1882.

MY DEAR BROTHER :

“I have just voted. I sit here in the Mayor’s office alone, with the exception of an artist from *Frank Leslie’s Newspaper*, who is sketching the office. If mother was here I should be writing to her, and I feel as if it were time for me to write to someone who will believe what I write.

“I have been for some time in the atmos-

phere of certain success, so that I have been sure that I should assume the duties of the high office for which I have been named. I have tried hard, in the light of this fact, to appreciate properly the responsibilities that will rest upon me, and they are much, too much underestimated. But the thought that has troubled me is, can I well perform my duties, and in such a manner as to do some good to the people of the State? I know there is room for it, and I know that I am honest and sincere in my desire to do well; but the question is whether I know enough to accomplish what I desire.

“The social life which seems to await me has also been a subject of much anxious thought. I have a notion that I can regulate that very much as I desire; and, if I can, I shall spend very little time in the purely ornamental part of the office. In point of fact, I will tell you, first of all others, the policy I intend to adopt, and that is, to make the matter a business engagement between the people of, the State and myself, in which the obligation on my side is to perform the duties assigned me with an eye single to the interest of my employers. I shall have no idea of re-election or any higher political preferment in my head, but be very thankful and happy if I can well serve one term as the people's Governor. Do you know that if mother were alive I should feel so much safer. I have always thought that her prayers had much to do with my success. I shall expect you

all to help me in that way. Give my love to —— and to —— if she is with you, and believe me,

“Your affectionate brother,

“GROVER CLEVELAND.”

“REV. WILLIAM N. CLEVELAND.”

Then, as if emphasizing this feeling of awe, this innate diffidence, he began to prepare himself for the new duties that awaited him. He had very little time to make that study of the condition of the State which it was necessary for him to deal with in the annual message, which must be sent to the legislature only a few weeks later. He went about his usual duties, accepted few of the invitations that came to him, and in the interval made only a single speech—at a reception given him by the Manhattan Club in December after his election. It is remarkable now, looking back upon that speech, the first made after his broader career had dawned upon him, that it was pervaded by the same lofty sentiments, emphasized in the strongest way the sense of responsibility he felt, and expressed many of the ideas that he has since been

able to carry out as an executive officer and as the friend and mentor of the American people.

He went to Albany one day before the time fixed by law for his inauguration, accompanied only by his friend and law partner, Mr. Wilson S. Bissell, and was inaugurated the next day with the simple ceremony so long a distinctive feature in the political life of the State of New York. When the legislature convened the next day, he sent to it his annual message, and was thus fully embarked upon the new and broader career.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST YEAR IN THE GOVERNORSHIP.

THE people of the great State of New York did not have long to wait to find out that they had placed the government in the hands of one in no way unworthy to succeed to its power and honors. That office has long been deemed the fitting reward for men of great ability and high personal character. In very few cases has

it been filled by men of low political ambitions or of bad character, or by those who would use it merely for the sake of the power or the spoils inherent in it. In many respects it has been considered but little less dignified to be Governor of the State of New York than to be President of the United States. The names of the men who have been elevated to that lofty place are, in and of themselves, proof of the truth of this assertion. George Clinton, De Witt Clinton, Silas Wright, William L. Marcy, William H. Seward, Horatio Seymour, John A. Dix, and Samuel J. Tilden were fitted to adorn any public office, whatever its dignity, or however grave its responsibilities.

But though the people of the State knew it not, they had conferred their great office upon a man who was to bring to it greater renown than any of his predecessors. That he was comparatively unknown in person and character to the great majority of the people who had elected him only increased the interest and made his success the more conspicuous. It has always been some-

thing of a surprise that a man who, to all outward appearances, had only the slightest experience in the larger politics of his State should have been chosen from all his fellow-citizens to administer this great trust. And his election by such a remarkable majority, the revulsion of feeling that had produced this result, the moral force and ideas behind it, had given him a position which none but a man of great ability and of the very highest traits of character could have filled. It was not enough that he was known to be an honest man whose actions in an office of this magnitude could hardly be predicted.

It was, in many respects, a risk for a people to take, in spite of the fact that there are few instances indeed in which men will permit themselves to be elected to such a place without the ability and character to fill it. As a rule men know themselves better than anybody else knows them, and they are seldom given to inviting inevitable defeat and failure. But he was left free-handed and independent. He had not been identified long enough in

a prominent way with the management of his party to take sides, or to have allied himself with factions in it. He had incurred few obligations to individuals, localities, or interests. Then, too, he had been so trained in the exacting duties of his profession, and in the few public trusts that had been confided to him, to consider everything presented to him on its merits, that he could examine fairly every public question as it arose and decide it as seemed best to his judgment and conscience.

His first annual message, prepared, as must always be the case in New York, under many difficulties and without an opportunity to get himself into the atmosphere of State politics and interests, was comparatively brief, limited to as small a number of subjects as was consistent with reasonable completeness, and set forth the views of a practical man who looked upon public affairs in the same light that he did upon the private business of an individual—as something to be done conscientiously and intelligently.

In this message he discussed with intelligence the interests of the canals and emphasized their importance. At the session of the legislature held just before his election the State had finally completed the legislation necessary to make them free. He insisted that as the people had surrendered the protection thus afforded, together with the revenue derived from the tolls, their chosen representatives should, in the execution of the trust committed to them, oppose the expenditure of large sums of money until the effect of this policy had been seen. As the result of his recommendations some legislation very much in advance of that usually passed in such emergencies was secured.

He had excellent recommendations to make on the principles that should rule the conduct of the public schools, the management of banks and insurance companies, the relations that the National Guard should bear to the State, and the management of prisons and charitable institutions. It was perhaps no more than natural that he should give much attention

to the latter. His early experience in New York, although it had come to him when little more than a boy, had evidently impressed him deeply. So he insisted that if abuses existed in the care of the insane no opportunity should be given for their continuance without the most relentless exposure. He averred that "frequent visitations and the most thorough examination should be made by local boards of properly constituted State authorities, which the people would be sure were in no wise bound except to the faithful discharge of their duties." He felt that by such means the institutions and those in charge of them would be protected from unjust charges and suspicion, and that the confidence of the people of the State would be secured.

He gave much attention to the question of immigration, as it was then conducted by the commissioners appointed by the State and under the laws passed by congress. For many years the Quarantine and Health Departments had been in bad odor. He insisted that the abuses incident

to them should be corrected. It was inevitable that the man who had just come from the successful administration of a municipal office should give some attention to the problems incident to the duties he had just laid down. His remedy for the evils of municipal government was simple. He said:

“They [city governments] should be so organized as to be simple in details and to cast upon the people affected thereby the full responsibility of their administration. The different departments should be in such accord as in their operation to lead toward the same results. Divided councils and divided responsibility to the people on the part of municipal officers, it is believed, give rise to much that is objectionable in the life of cities. If, to remedy this evil, the Chief Executive should be made answerable to the people for the proper conduct of the city affairs, it is quite clear that his power in the selection of those who manage its different departments should be greatly enlarged.”

Scarcely less important was his declaration in favor of the enactment of an efficient State civil service law, and to this recommendation is due the fact that he was able to declare in his next message

that "New York, then, leads in the inauguration of a comprehensive State system of civil service." His first official declaration in favor of the adoption of this policy was brief, covering only a few lines in his annual message, but it was thoroughly in harmony with the sentiment of the State, and was so enforced from time to time by his own example that, while the legislature failed to enact many a good law that he had recommended, and public sentiment really favored, it dared not refuse this demand.

In his message there was less of the dogmatism that characterized his Buffalo career than was to be expected; but when it is borne in mind that he had assumed great responsibilities in an office to which he was entirely new, and was surrounded by conditions with which he had had little opportunity to familiarize himself, this is not at all surprising. It was not long, however, before he began to feel thoroughly at home, and it is interesting to the student of political conditions, as well as of individual character, to go back over the public papers of

Mr. Cleveland's first year as Governor and observe how quickly he projected himself into the atmosphere of State politics.

He had been known as "The Veto Mayor of Buffalo." It was not long until he was as justly entitled to the name of "The Veto Governor of New York." Although there was a change of scene, there was none in the principles upon which he carried on the business of the government. He still looked upon a public office as a place in which he must serve the interests of the people. He proceeded in Albany, with the same deliberation he had used in Buffalo, to interpose the veto power for the protection of the public treasury. In Buffalo he had vetoed a bill to transfer money from a Fourth of July fund to a Memorial Day fund, and, as has been seen, expressed his reluctance to do so because of his sympathy with the object; so in Albany he vetoed a bill authorizing the supervisors of Chautauqua County to appropriate money for a soldier's monument, and in doing so declared: "It is not an agreeable duty to refuse to give

sanction to the appropriation of money for such a worthy and patriotic object, but I cannot forget that the money proposed to be appropriated is public money to be raised by taxation, and that all that justifies its exaction from the people is the necessity of its use for purposes connected with the safety and substantial welfare of the taxpayers." And, in closing the same message, he indulged in that legislative lecturing that had made him famous in Buffalo. In doing so he expressed the hope that "a due regard to fundamental principles, and a strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, will prevent the passage of bills of this nature in the future."

He vetoed the bill enacted by his own partisans in the legislature to amend the charter of the city of Elmira, and only a little later he did the same thing with the bill to amend the charter of his own city of Buffalo. He had been succeeded by a new Mayor, who was not unwilling to have something of partisan glory and spoils. So a bill was introduced, and passed in the legislature, reorganizing the Fire Depart-

ment. In an elaborate message, vetoing this bill, he expressed his dissent from the principles of the bill for legal as well as moral reasons, and in closing this document he wrote a paragraph which has contributed largely to his fame, and which was in every way characteristic of the man. In this he said :

“I believe in an open and sturdy partisanship, which secures the legitimate advantages of party supremacy ; but parties were made for the people, and I am unwilling, knowingly, to give my assent to measures purely partisan, which will sacrifice or endanger their interests.”

During this session of the legislature he also laid down the principle, emphasized so many times during his term as President, that persons should not be relieved from responsibility for the safe keeping of money or property for any light or insufficient reason. His opinions on this matter were expressed in a bill authorizing the Comptroller to compromise claims against a bank in his own city. In many other vetoes he carried out in a larger field the policies that had given him prominence and had made

him such an efficient servant of the people.

He exercised the power granted him by the Constitution to remove an elective officer, taking up the charges preferred against a District Attorney belonging to his own party, and ousting the incumbent from an office, in spite of the fact that he was an important political factor in his community. In doing all these things he encountered the usual amount of partisan abuse. He had a difficult legislature to manage. His own party in the senate was rent by factions, and a series of disgraceful trades had been made from time to time between one or the other of these and the Republicans in the same body ; but he went his way, paying little attention to these things, and apparently gathering courage and ideas for carrying out the same policy in other directions.

Every criticism was mild compared with the opposition evoked by his action in vetoing what was known as the "Five-Cent Fare Bill." This was a bill forcibly reducing to five cents the fares charged

on the elevated railroads of the city of New York. The question had been agitated for a good many years, and a strong feeling of opposition to the elevated railroads themselves, and to what were deemed their exactions, had been developed. That some new and reasonable restrictions might have been justified can scarcely be doubted, but the legislature undertook to embody these in the most radical and destructive form. The Governor saw that while there were some abuses in the management of the roads, the action of the legislature would produce still greater injustice to the corporation affected, but more to the public interests.

He gave long and patient hearings to the advocates of the law and to its opponents, and, finally making up his own mind, wrote a strong and comprehensive veto of the bill. This was almost purely a legal document. He reviewed the history of the legislation that had resulted in the building of these roads, and finally in their consolidation into a single system, and also reviewed with care the demand made by the people of

New York for so many years for increased rapid transit facilities. He never did a piece of work of this kind that demanded more time and labor, more conscientious consideration, than did the veto in question. On the one hand were the selfish interests of a great and, in some respects, a grasping corporation; on the other were what seemed to be almost the united demands of all the different elements that went to make up a great city—demands supposed to be especially strong among the laboring element. Delegations from the trade organizations representing them appeared before the Governor in support of the measure; petitions of interminable length were presented to him, and able lawyers made arguments on both sides, which were quite enough, even of themselves, to try the patience of a man less anxious to get at the truth. After all this had been done, he made up his mind for himself and, as already thus narrated, vetoed the bill. In doing so, he laid down the principles upon which he had proceeded:

“But we have especially in our keeping the honor and good faith of a great State, and we should see to it that no suspicion attaches, through any act of ours, to the fair fame of the Commonwealth. The State should not only be strictly just, but scrupulously fair, and in all its relations to the citizen every legal and moral obligation should be recognized. This can only be done by legislating without vindictiveness or prejudice, and with a firm determination to deal justly and fairly with those from whom we exact obedience.”

As illustrating his courage, in such a crisis, an anecdote is related by his friends to the effect that on the night of the day he sent this veto message to the Assembly while making himself ready for bed, he thought it over and said to himself: “Well, to-morrow I shall be the most unpopular man in the State of New York.” But he was mistaken. The next morning, when he got up, he found upon his table, as usual, the papers from New York City and Albany, and discovered that the conscientious regard he had shown for public honor, the care with which he had examined the matter in all its bearings, had made an impression upon the

public mind, and that the same conclusion had been reached by the newspapers which represented this sentiment that he himself had been compelled to find. The same thing, too, was true in the assembly itself, as the attempt to pass the bill over his veto failed disastrously.

Thus he went on dealing with the legislature in much the same spirit he had shown in the case of the Common Council of Buffalo, only with the change in language and manner that circumstances made necessary.

Another question to which he gave much attention during his first year as Governor was that of pardons and commutations. Naturally a man of kind heart, and never afraid of any work that might be imposed upon him in doing the duties of his office, he was soon overwhelmed with applications for the pardon of criminals and commutations of sentences. To each of these he gave the most careful attention, granting hearings and beginning then the custom of reviewing, when necessary, the entire record of the cases to which his attention had been

called. Because of this he was subjected to a great deal of bitter criticism. His predecessor had made it a point to grant but few pardons, and had in fact been rather curt in his refusal to consider cases. About six months after Mr. Cleveland's inauguration he expressed his views, in a newspaper interview, in answer to the criticisms that had been made upon him. He said :

“The pardoning power is one of the most difficult and perplexing duties that a Governor has to perform. It is one of the duties imposed upon him by the Constitution. No person can properly appreciate the embarrassments attending it without going through an examination of the facts presented in connection with the different cases. There are instances where injustice has been done ; where men have been convicted on evidence insufficient or evidence that subsequently turned out to be false, and where men have been sentenced to longer terms than the character of the crimes justified.

“Occasionally there is an epidemic of a particular class of crime in a section of the State; the public becomes excited, and it sometimes occurs that a man is convicted on insufficient evidence and at a time when public sentiment is high ; he receives a long sentence and, perhaps, all contrary to the

facts. After a lapse of time new facts are brought to light, throwing doubt on the guilt of the party. The prosecuting officer who secured the conviction, and the judge who sentenced the party, appeal for the exercise of executive clemency; setting forth the facts, and strongly recommending that the ends of justice have already been served by the punishment inflicted.

“I have one case before me now where the prosecuting attorney on the trial now sets forth that he withheld certain evidence which would have shown that the person arraigned was not guilty of murder, but only of robbery, and only by withholding the evidence was he convicted. In reality, the man claimed to have been murdered died of consumption three weeks after the robbery. The party had been imprisoned for twenty years, and now the prosecuting attorney and the judge have made an appeal on his behalf for executive clemency. These are only a few examples. The question whether a Governor is issuing too few or too many pardons can only be properly answered after considering all the evidence.”

Such an out-of-the-way declaration—something overlaid by matters more important—is cited merely to show how this man’s character developed and how he tried at every turn to do his duty, regardless of misunderstanding or obloquy. He

has always manifested a willingness to bide his time in all important matters, and to do justice when his heart and head in concert urged him to take such a course.

During his first year as Governor he made a few public speeches. He returned to his own home and addressed the annual Saengerfest in session there. He spoke to the graduates of the Albany High School in June, and in October made an excellent speech at the fair in Ogdensburg. In none of these was there anything to show that he had in view any higher honors; in fact, at no time during his career has he seemed while in one office to be looking for promotion to another and higher one. He has merely done his duty in each, and whether in speech or act has apparently been satisfied to let the future take care of itself.

During the time under consideration it fell to the lot of the Governor to make many appointments to fill vacancies in public offices, and in doing this he applied the same tests of fitness and character that had distinguished him in Buffalo and upon

which he insisted when he recommended the adoption of a State civil service law. This does not mean that either then or since he paid no attention to the demands of his party. He has always recognized that it is not possible to separate important and responsible places from accountability to the sentiment dominant among the people of a neighborhood, or a State, or the nation. But this sentiment with him was always accompanied by the most exacting demands as to the fitness and character of the applicant.

He carried his own principles into practice by promoting many men who had served the State in minor places. Thus, when he had to appoint a Superintendent of the Insurance Department, he promoted to be the head of it the man who had entered the office as a messenger. When he had to choose a Commissioner of the new Capitol Building he appointed a business man of whose character and fitness he was personally cognizant. The Superintendency of the Public Works, an office which for many years before and for some years

since Mr. Cleveland's time has been looked upon as one belonging almost entirely to spoilsmen, was conferred upon a man whose experience in the management of the canals and whose place of residence made him thoroughly useful in his new capacity.

He had the appointment of the original Railroad Commission of his State, the law authorizing it having been enacted during the period under discussion. He gave the most careful attention to the selection of the members of this body, and it was done with such judgment that his choice gave general satisfaction, regardless of party affiliations. It was very important in the early days of such a body that it should be composed of men of a high type of character, with a conscientious regard for the public interest. These qualities he was able to command, and it is perhaps safe to say that the first commission—that appointed by Mr. Cleveland when he was Governor—had the best and ablest men that has ever composed that body since its authorization by the legislature. As a

natural result its work was started on sensible lines, and it has thoroughly justified itself by an entire absence of the irritation and ill-feeling so common between the people and the railroads in many parts of the Union.

For many years the labor question had been looked upon as a very important one. Political conventions, legislators, and executive officers had given much attention to it. The two great cities of the State were and are so large as almost to dominate its political sentiment, and in these cities what is known as the labor element certainly holds the balance of power between the two parties. The manufacturing interest, once unimportant compared with the commercial element, had grown with great rapidity, until in 1880 New York had attained the first position as a manufacturing city. There had been introduced into what has long been known as the metropolitan district a population which in origin, ideas, and interests could scarcely be matched anywhere else. It was a thoroughly eclectic population, keen, intelligent, aspiring, and

with no more, perhaps, than its fair share of human selfishness. Its growth had been so rapid that it had not assimilated itself thoroughly to the new political conditions, nor had party leaders been able to learn clearly how to deal with it. Therefore, many impracticable measures had been brought forward by the accepted representatives of the labor element, together with many others which, though honestly meant, were distinguished for inefficiency, and, if enacted into laws, would have utterly failed to bring about the desired result. Previous Governors had even permitted some of these crude measures to become laws; in many cases, no doubt, with the idea that if they proved failures they could be repealed, but in most instances they surrendered what were their honest opinions in order to appease what were supposed to be the demands of this new and unknown element in the population by which they were surrounded.

By the time that Mr. Cleveland was nominated for Governor it had become an accepted thing to have a labor plank and,

in referring to this utterance in the platform Mr. Cleveland accepted it by saying:

“The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts to peacefully assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman.”

The first legislature with which Mr. Cleveland had to deal undertook to carry out the promises of the platform and the candidate as far as possible. In pursuance of this policy a bureau of labor statistics was provided for. The bill prohibiting the manufacture of woolen hats in State prisons, penitentiaries, and reformatories, and that prohibiting the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses, together with the Convict Labor bill, were passed and approved by the Governor.

He refused, however, to surrender his judgment to popular clamor when convinced that a proposed law, affecting the interests of many men, was not constitutional or in accord with the principles

of practical politics. Thus he refused to sign the bill, which was passed late in the session, prohibiting the working of more than twelve hours a day by drivers and conductors on street railways. He distinctly approved the object of the law, but vetoed it on legal and constitutional grounds. It was clear then, as some of the leaders of the laboring people afterward admitted, that the law could never have been enforced, and, as it applied to a single class, it would have been dangerous as well as impracticable legislation.

Thus the first year as Governor, which has already been passed hurriedly in review, was closed with much credit to the Governor. He had worked with conscience and industry to carry out not only the promises made by his party and himself, but to enact into practical legislation the principles he approved. Each month his honesty and faithfulness had become more widely known in his own State as well as in every other. In general his relations with his party were fairly good. He had refused to do many things that the politi-

cal managers wanted, but he had behind him then, as before and since, the sentiment of the people. He had no need to turn either to the right or to the left, so far as higher honors were concerned, and although a Presidential election was approaching he gave no encouragement to efforts to push his claims upon his party in the country at large.

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND YEAR IN THE GOVERNORSHIP.

MR. CLEVELAND began his second year as Governor by sending to the legislature his annual message, on January 1, 1884. If there appeared to be something like hesitation the year before, it was no longer to be found. He showed that if he had ever lacked confidence in himself he had now gained it, and he evidently felt sure of his ability to carry out his own promises in spite of limitations, and to conduct the affairs of his office about as he thought they should be conducted. He knew thoroughly what laws the best interests of

his State demanded, and he showed this feeling by recommending them with something of the dogmatism that had distinguished his earlier efforts in Buffalo.

In the opening sentences of this message he emphasized the sentiment which so many times before and since he has referred to. That was, the responsibility of officials to the people. On this he said :

“I believe it to be entirely proper at the outset to direct attention to the fact of the growth and progress of the State in every direction. The needs of the people call for patient and intelligent action on the part of their representatives in the legislature. Everyone who has assumed any share of responsibility in this branch of the government should enter upon the discharge of his duties fully appreciating his trust and with an unwavering determination to serve the State faithfully.”

He gave special attention to the pernicious influences of legislation which were the natural result of the introduction and consideration of bills purely local in their character. He looked upon these as affecting merely special interests, that ought not under any pretext to be permitted to

find adoption by the legislature representing all the people of the State. He pointed out that the powers of the Board of Supervisors and other local authorities had been enlarged for the express purpose of enabling them to deal intelligently and properly with such subjects, but he complained that, notwithstanding this, "bills are introduced authorizing the building and repairing of bridges and highways, the erection of engine-houses and soldiers' monuments, the establishment of libraries, the regulation and purchase of cemeteries, and other things of a like nature." He even insisted that there was reason to suspect in many cases that such measures were made the means of developing the system which has long been known by the term of legislative log-rolling; so he lectured the legislature with his old-time force, and even anticipated in a degree some of those plain-speaking messages which used to astonish a do-nothing congress and attract the attention of a grateful people.

He dealt with the subject of taxation

much more fully than the previous year, and insisted that "strict economy in the management of State affairs by their agents should furnish the people a good government at the least possible cost. This is common honesty. But, to see to it that this cost is fairly and justly distributed, and the burden equally borne by those who have no peaceful redress if the State is unjust, is the best attribute of sovereignty and the highest duty to the citizen." He insisted that "the recognition of this duty characterizes a beneficent government, but its repudiation marks the oppression of tyrannical power." This was the same principle that he had avowed in Buffalo, and the tariff-reform message of 1887, with its scarcely less emphatic predecessor of 1886, is no more positive.

He reviewed in detail and with becoming pride the management of the different departments of the State. Public education, banks, insurance, the National Guard, prisons, and the charitable institutions were all so treated in this second message that the legislature had an excellent

opportunity, if it chose, to get a good deal of much-needed information. Indeed, he gave far more attention to the charitable institutions than any of his predecessors.

The first report of the Railroad Commission, authorized at the preceding session of the legislature and appointed by him, gave him an opportunity to review at considerable length the relations of corporations to the people, and no more scathing review of the abuses of corporations has been made than is to be found in this legislative document. He demanded that the State should "refuse to allow these corporations to exist under its authority and patronage, or, acknowledging their paternity and its responsibility, should provide a simple, easy way for its people whose money is invested, and the public generally, to discover how the funds of these institutions are spent and how their affairs are conducted."

The new State civil-service reform law had gone into operation, and its beginnings were reviewed with an appreciation that showed intelligence as well as devotion to

the idea underlying this reform. It was, therefore, only natural that in closing his review of the business of the State he should recapitulate the work that had been done during the first year of his administration. Among others he cited the establishment of the civil-service reform principle; the prohibition of political assessments of employees of the public departments; the protection by law of all citizens at primary elections; the establishment of a labor bureau to collect information and statistics; the enactment of legislation providing for saving the forests of the State; the revision of the tax laws in such a way that the evasion of liability was rendered more difficult; the placing of co-operative insurance companies under the control of the Superintendent of the Insurance Department; the reduction and regulation of the fees of receivers; the introduction of business principles into the construction of public buildings; the establishment of a Court of Claims in which the rights of citizens might be asserted even against the State itself.

These were cited as accomplishments important enough to show that the substantial interests of the State had not been neglected or overlooked.

For the first time he made a reference in a public document to national politics, in which he cited, with much appositiveness, an extract from De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America," and showed by contrast how great had been the decline of our shipping interests. He hoped that the people might be permitted to "anticipate a time when care for the people's needs as they actually arise, and the application of remedies as wrongs appear, shall lead in the conduct of national affairs." He perhaps little suspected even then, only a few months before his nomination for President, the meaning these words were to be given within the next few years.

The presence in an important position in the politics of a great State of a man who had begun his career as a municipal reformer was certain to attract his attention to questions connected with the government of cities. In this second annual mes-

sage he set forth his opinions on the question with fullness. Many bills were introduced, some of them impracticable and useless, others wantonly unjust; but among them were important measures. Of these probably the one that had the most far-reaching effect was that taking away from the Board of Aldermen of the city of New York its power to confirm appointments made by the Mayor. There were many features in the bill as proposed and passed that did not commend themselves to the Governor, but he signed it without much hesitation, and took occasion to set forth his views at length in a memorandum filed with it.

In like manner measures instituting reforms in the county offices in New York City were all signed by the Governor, after he had insisted that they should be made as perfect as possible. In one or two cases in which he recommended the adoption of this policy the legislature refused to recall the bills, in the hope that, as he seemed to favor the principle back of them, he might sign them, without regard to the form in

which they were presented to him. But he refused to do so, and in vetoing one he used an expression, almost savage in denunciation, in which he said: "Of all the defective and shabby legislation which has been presented to me, this is the worst and most inexcusable," pointing out in detail the blunders and inconsistencies he had discovered.

At the election in November, 1883, during his first year as Governor, the people of the State had voted by a large majority in favor of the abolition of contract labor. The legislature did not deal with the question in a direct way, but established a commission to investigate and report at a late day in the session. At the same time it passed a bill prohibiting such labor in the State prisons, after the contracts then in force had expired. The Governor vetoed this bill, as it did not apply to the prohibition of contract labor in the penitentiaries, and seemed intended by the legislature to evade the doing of the full duty imposed upon it by the vote of the people. The bill was amended in accordance with

the Governor's objections and at once signed by him, since which time contract labor in prisons and penitentiaries has been prohibited. He insisted, however, that the State should keep faith with the prison contractors as well as with everybody else, and the failure to do this resulted in some vigorous veto measures and memorandums.

During this session the act providing for the appointment of a commission to set aside the land necessary for a park at Niagara Falls was passed, and, as the Dominion of Canada soon adopted the same policy, many of the abuses that had grown up in the neighborhood of Niagara Falls were corrected and many perils that threatened their beauty were averted. In this way there was created a State reservation, under the management of which unsightly constructions have been removed and the scenery surrounding the Falls has been restored, so far as practicable, to what it was originally. An effort had been made to do this for several years before Mr. Cleveland's accession to the Governorship, but his predecessor had indicated

his opposition and the bill had not been passed. But Mr. Cleveland showed a disposition friendly to the undertaking, due perhaps to his familiarity with the country about the Falls and his knowledge of the abuses that had grown up there. The law has been carried into effect with much satisfaction, and the State reservation, though not as beautiful as its promoters hoped, has at least saved the greatest landscape feature of the world and left it almost undisturbed. Many of the serious abuses with which visitors were formerly met have been removed.

Thus every question which engaged the attention of the people of his State found in Mr. Cleveland, during his term as Governor, the most intelligent encouragement. The reform of the State civil service, the protection and preservation of the forest domain, the promotion of education and industry, all had in him an active and intelligent supporter.

So excellent had his administration been that, during the early part of 1884, a demand for his nomination for the Presidency

went up from every part of the country. The canvass was carried on, however, with little aid from him. His appreciation of this great honor was well shown in a letter written on June 28, 1884, in which he said :

“I feel that I now hold in my keeping a trust from the people of the State which nothing should induce me to surrender except the demand of the people of the United States. I am very sure that the office of President, with all its responsibilities, is not one to be sought for ambitious ends, and I suppose it should not be declined. I have full faith in the wisdom of my party, and look for such action in the coming convention as will give the best guarantee of sound Democratic principles.”

CHAPTER VII.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CANVASS AND ELECTION.

MANY influences combined to make the canvass and the election of 1884 as important as any in our history. A great many things had happened during the preceding eight years to unsettle political conditions. A disputed election in 1876—followed by

four years' incumbency of a man who, though he made a fair record, had never commended himself to the conscience of the country, because of the methods by which he had been chosen—had done much to break up the party long dominant. When to this were added the methods adopted in the election of 1880, and the subsequent tragic death of Garfield, the situation was greatly intensified. It became plain, as President Arthur's fairly commendable administration wore to its close, that, in spite of its vigor and cleanliness, he would not be able to command the entire confidence of his party. The Blaine element was still dominant, and was able, in 1884, for the first time so to control the party as to secure the nomination of its favorite.

On the other hand there had been a good many changes in the Democratic situation. In 1880 Samuel J. Tilden had felt called upon to decline a renomination, not so much because he was anxious to avoid the candidacy, but mainly because of the bitter opposition among certain ele-

ments of his party in the State of New York. He had so long dominated the party, his ideas of administration and his political methods had become so well known, that it was clearly impossible to get entirely away from the circle of his influence, and indeed the mass of the party saw with clearness that to do this would mean inevitable defeat and continued exclusion from participation in the government of the country and the making of its policy. It was no more than natural in such a crisis that the drift of the Democratic party should have been toward Mr. Cleveland, who had not been active in politics during the most of Tilden's later career, and was never known as one of his special friends, either personally or politically. Indeed, so far as he had any leanings at that time, they were rather opposed to the Tilden management than favorable.

This was due, in the main, to the fact that Tilden, in choosing his managers, had put forward in Erie County and the western part of the State some men scarcely credit-

able to the party. This was the old manager's way, and, while he seldom did it, the fact that he had made an exception in the locality mentioned had the effect of keeping men of the Cleveland stamp away from his standard and support. It must not, however, be concluded from this that he was an opponent of Tilden or of his reform ideas. It is needless to say that he had no sympathy with the war waged upon him by the canal ring and by party dis-organizers everywhere. His attitude was due entirely to the facts thus briefly outlined.

Mr. Cleveland had been nominated for Governor of New York because of his reform record as Mayor of Buffalo. This put him in entire accord with the best men among the old Tilden element. This was due to his recognized merit, as well as to the fact that many of the enemies of the older man had become also the enemies of the younger one. It did not take Mr. Cleveland long to make a considerable number of enemies in his own party, and as they included most of the men who had

also been the enemies of Mr. Tilden the two influences co-operated to make the friends of one friendly to the other; so when the final withdrawal of Tilden from the politics of New York became a necessity on account of advanced age and increasing infirmities, it was natural that he and his friends should cast about for someone upon whom his mantle might fall.

It was also clear to the party in the country at large that a nomination must be made which would command the support of the great body of independent voters of the States surrounding and tributary to it. Mr. Cleveland's course as Governor had been such as to command the admiration of these people. This demand was increased by distrust of Mr. Blaine, the opposing candidate; so that two influences again contributed to give unusual strength in his party to the new political figure that had risen so suddenly. The Tilden element, representing the reform sentiment in the Democratic party, and the independent element, representing the progressive sentiment in the Repub-

lican party and among those men attached to neither, were of themselves the two most important elements in the politics of that day.

The one great political manager—other than himself—developed by Tilden's career was Daniel Manning. He early attached himself to the fortunes of Mr. Cleveland. He saw clearly the patriotic as well as the political policies represented by this new figure in State politics. So it was not at all surprising that, when the Democratic Convention for the selection of delegates to the National Convention to be held in Chicago met in Saratoga in June, 1884, Mr. Manning and his friends should be able to control it, and choose an uninstructed delegation, bound by the unit rule, as had been common in New York. Then the full vote of the Empire State was cast for the nomination of Grover Cleveland for the Presidency of the United States in the face of bitter opposition from certain elements in New York City, mainly growing out of the Gubernatorial campaign of 1879, in which the regular Democratic candidate

had been defeated because of the presence in the field of a bolting candidate.

The canvass for Presidential preferences had been going on in other States of the Union, and a strong sentiment had developed in favor of the nomination of Mr. Cleveland. When the convention met at Chicago it was at least clear that he was the leading candidate, although the sentiment in his favor was not so marked as to give assurance of his nomination. Good management was necessary. The elements defeated at Saratoga, and represented in the New York delegation, went to Chicago and waged bitter opposition to the nomination of Mr. Cleveland.

The National Democratic Convention of that year was in many respects a remarkable body. For the first time since the war, it was composed mainly of the younger men of the party—men who, under the dominance of the Tilden sentiment, had become active in politics. Its President was William F. Vilas of Wisconsin, who attained there a prominence he has deserved so well that he is now serving with

acceptance as a United States Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

On the third day of the convention, after many efforts to postpone nominations, and the defeat of all obstructive tactics, the first ballot was taken and resulted as follows: Cleveland, 392; Bayard, 170; Thurman, 98; Randall, 78; McDonald, 56, and 36 votes scattering among several others who were not formally presented as candidates at the convention. Adjournment was taken until the next day, when upon the second ballot, the result was declared as 683 for Cleveland, 81½ for Bayard, 45½ for Hendricks, with a few votes distributed as usual among other candidates. Cleveland had thus secured on this ballot 136 votes more than the two-thirds necessary to nominate. Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana was nominated as the candidate for Vice President.

There has never been a convention in the history of the country at which both sentiment and management combined more emphatically to produce the result than the National Democratic Convention of 1884.

There was general agreement that to be successful a candidate satisfactory to the independent voters must be chosen. These were not confined to the Republican party, in spite of the fact that as the result of that campaign there grew up a distinctive element known as Mugwumps—those Republicans who refused to vote for the candidate nominated by their party for President. A much greater number of independent voters, perhaps ten to one, enrolled themselves with the Democrats, willingly avowing themselves partisans so long as that party meant the dominance of the ideas of Grover Cleveland.

The fact is often overlooked or forgotten that it is impossible for a sentiment to find expression in one party without making at the same time a strong impression upon the other and opposing party. Any given set of political conditions is the outgrowth of a sentiment among the great body of the people, and not in any one party. If there is a demand for the reform of abuses among the people it will find expression in both

parties. If there is a tendency to cater to a demagogic idea the same thing will be true; so that while there was perhaps a few thousand Mugwumps, there were hundreds of thousands of independent, intelligent, thinking men, who became Democrats or were turned to that party, and have since remained with it. Wherever it was to be found, or however it had been promoted, it was this sentiment that made success possible in November, 1884.

In 1884 this sentiment was so strong that it took an organized form. Many of the Republicans who revolted against their party were among the oldest and most sturdy that it had; in their ranks were found many of the old Abolitionists and Freesoilers. They were not content with merely recording their protest. They organized not only to defeat the candidate of the party with which they had been affiliated, but to elect a man belonging to the party to which they had been opposed. They went to work systematically, appointing their local and State committees, and these in their turn choosing a National

committee composed of men of the highest character.

The protest against the nomination of Mr. Blaine went on; nothing that party managers could do, no denunciations that newspaper organs could indulge in, had the slightest effect. Personal abuse of the best men in the community was, perhaps, never resorted to more than during the canvass of 1884. The partisan newspapers appeared to resent the prominence of any man who was called a "Mugwump," although there was scarcely a community so small that it did not contain one or more members of this hated class. They had come together with a common purpose, and they organized for a common end.

After the appearance of Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance, about the middle of August, this independent support became stronger than before. He showed in this utterance that as a candidate he had nothing to take back or to explain so far as his attitude on public questions was concerned. He thus attracted still more men from the ranks of his opponents, and when the cam-

paing was fairly organized it was found that the names of George William Curtis, Carl Schurz, Henry Ward Beecher, Charles R. Codman, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Henry L. Pierce, James Freeman Clarke, Bainbridge Wadleigh, Daniel H. Chamberlain, then of South Carolina, now of New York; ex-Governors Blair of Michigan and Pound of Wisconsin, together with thousands more of the same type of men, were doing what they could in support of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency.

These were joined by many important newspapers. *Harper's Weekly*, which had for a long time been the strongest supporter of the Republican party among the illustrated papers, and outspoken Republican papers like the *Herald* and *Transcript* of Boston; the *Herald*, *Times*, and *Evening Post* of New York; the *Times* of Philadelphia; the *News* of Indianapolis, together with many among the smaller papers everywhere in the country, were giving their support to Mr. Cleveland. The result of this was not merely tem-

porary. In the main this support did not fall away from Mr. Cleveland after he was elected or leave the Democratic party, but gave it such help as they thought it deserved. As a result all the papers mentioned, and of the number behind them unheralded, have done good service in the cause of tariff reform since it became the dominant issue.

Mr. Cleveland has always refused to make a personal canvass for the Presidency. He did this in 1884, when he was Governor, as he did also in 1888, when he was the chief executive of the nation. Instead of making a general canvass, he went about his work in the usual way, giving little attention to mere political management. He made two short speeches, one at Newark, N. J., in the county of his birth, and another at Bridgeport, Conn. Neither was more than a quarter of an hour in length, and neither was what might be termed a partisan or a campaign speech.

In the Newark speech he first showed that he thoroughly understood the abuses of our system of tariff taxation. None of

his declarations on this important question has been stronger than that in which he declared his convictions upon the question as it was then presented to the public mind. He said :

“It is quite plain, too, that the people have a right to demand that no more money shall be taken from them, directly or indirectly, for public uses than is necessary for an honest and economical administration of public affairs. Indeed, the right of the government to exact tribute from the citizen is limited to its actual necessities, and every cent taken from the people beyond that required for their protection by the government is no better than robbery. We surely must condemn, then, a system which takes from the pockets of the people millions of dollars not needed for the support of the government, and which tends to the inauguration of corrupt schemes and extravagant expenditures.”

He expressed in the Bridgeport speech, as he had done in many public utterances before, both as Mayor and as Governor, his keen sense of the responsibilities imposed upon him. In it he said :

“The world does not present a more sublime spectacle than a nation of freemen determining their own course, and the leader

whom they follow at such a time might well feel a sober, solemn sense of responsibility. The plaudits of his fellows he should feel, but only to feel more intensely what a serious thing it is to have in keeping their hopes and their confidence."

Events move so rapidly in this country that the electors of the present day have perhaps forgotten that the October election in Ohio was formerly considered a sort of preliminary to the Presidential election. It made no difference that the Republicans had always carried the State in a Presidential year. The Democrats ever showed a determination to follow them in making the canvass there as spirited as possible. In order to impress his countrymen Mr. Blaine made an extensive electioneering tour through the State and put forth the most active efforts in order to command a favorable result, and the Republicans carried the State, while the Democrats, as usual, carried Georgia and West Virginia.

The election was held on Tuesday, November 4, and resulted in the choice of 219 electors who voted for Cleveland, and 182 who voted for Mr. Blaine. Cleveland

had secured the necessary votes, together with his majority, in twenty States, while Mr. Blaine had carried eighteen. Of the popular vote Cleveland had 4,874,596, Blaine 4,850,981; the Greenback candidate, who had bolted from the Democratic party after the nomination of Mr. Cleveland, received about 170,000, and St. John, the Prohibition candidate, had about 150,000.

Because of the closeness of the vote in New York, the Republicans did not at once concede the election of Mr. Cleveland, whose majority was finally determined to be 1047. But as the election had been conducted fairly, there was no opportunity to question its honesty or its evident result; so, within a few days, the party that had profited by a disputed election in 1876 was compelled to accept the adverse verdict of 1884. But they did not do this without venting their rage upon the elements that had been supposed to contribute to their defeat. They forgot for the moment that their candidate had gone into the campaign with a character much smirched, and that he had emerged from it

in a worse condition. The people had simply resented the foisting upon them of such a man.

The result of the election was celebrated by the Democrats in a way thoroughly American. Jubilees, parades, and every kind of public demonstration were indulged in. As the party had been once premature in celebrating the election of Tilden in 1876, its members gave way to demonstrations of joy that were perhaps doubled by the recollection of the previous inauspicious event. The sober sense of the people and of the newspapers that had supported the successful candidate soon found expression, and in a few weeks the result was looked upon as bringing greater responsibility to a party, and to the man who had led it, than any event since the election and inauguration of Lincoln.

Mr. Cleveland was still Governor, and held the even tenor of his official way until the 1st of January, 1885, when in a message of a few words to the legislature he resigned his office and assumed the task of organizing his administration as Presi-

dent of the United States. He received delegations of citizens from every part of the Union, heard appeals from the friends of public men thought of as fit to hold places in the Cabinet, and many good men were sent for after careful inquiry as to their character, their ambitions, and their probable fitness for various offices.

But this was not all that the President-elect had to do in the two months between the time that he had resigned the Governorship and when he was to be inaugurated as President. Questions of public as well as party policy were to be considered. The successful candidate had decided views of his own on all great public questions, but he felt that he must of necessity put himself into the closest touch with the sentiment of his party and of the country. While many men no doubt looked forward to the time when they would hold some lucrative and honorable office, the struggle for place did not reach the noxious development that it showed four years later, when a party which had been expelled

from power after twenty-four years of tenure returned to exhibit to the nation the most disgraceful scramble that the world has ever seen. Although the Democratic party had been excluded from Federal offices so long, its members showed a degree of patience which did much to commend it to public favor, and to enable the man whom it had elected for President to gain and to keep the confidence of the people.

Two important questions engaged the attention of Mr. Cleveland between the time of his election in November and his inauguration on March 4. On December 23, 1884, he sent a letter to Mr. George William Curtis, President of the National Civil Service Reform League, in which he set forth his ideas on the use of government offices as party patronage. In this letter he promised that no partisan considerations should cause any relaxation on his part of an earnest effort to enforce the Civil Service law, then new to the statute books. He emphasized the fact, however, that a large number of men holding public places

had forfeited all just claim to retention, because they had used their offices for party purposes. "They had done this," he declared, "in disregard of their duty to the people, and because, instead of being decent public servants, they have proved themselves offensive partisans, and unscrupulous manipulators of party managers."

This term, "offensive partisans," was to gain wider currency than its author perhaps thought when he used it, but the distinction between such men and those public servants who had done their duty faithfully and well was clear to his mind, and was never lost sight of in practice during his entire administration. In this respect he did what he promised in the letter to Mr. Curtis, when he declared that "such officials should be taught that efficiency, fitness, and devotion to public duty are the conditions of their continuance in public places, and that the quiet and unobtrusive exercise of their rights is the reasonable measure of party service."

On February 24, only eight days before his inauguration, he addressed a letter to A. J. Warner, then a representative in congress from Ohio, and others, on the question of devising some method of relieving the government from the dangers threatened by the accumulation in the Treasury of the United States of uncirculated and uncalled-for silver dollars. In this letter he took occasion to sound the alarm felt by himself and conservative men everywhere about the dangers surrounding the coinage of silver. He insisted that it was desirable to maintain and continue in use the mass of gold coin as well as the mass of silver already coined. He declared that he believed this to be possible only by a temporary suspension of the purchase and coinage of silver. He believed it to be "of momentous importance to prevent the two metals from parting company; to prevent the increasing displacement of gold by the increasing coinage of silver; to prevent the disuse of gold in the custom houses of the United States in the daily business of the people;

to prevent the ultimate expulsion of gold by silver."

He did not attempt to exaggerate the dangers of the situation then existing, and the people of the country do not know even now to what extent wise management was necessary in order to ward off peril. He concluded his letter by recommending that the compulsory coinage of silver provided for by the Bland bill should be suspended for a time, and it is probable that if this had been done immediately upon the meeting of Congress, in December, 1884, as recommended by President Arthur, the country would never have been subjected to the many perilous changes that have taken place in the condition of its finances.

This was his first specific utterance on silver coinage, and everything that he has since said, whether in office or out, has shown that he has not had cause to change his views on this important question. He was then, as now, an avowed monometallist, and he has always warned the people of the country against

any of the patent schemes presented in such numbers to Congress.

The remainder of his time, in the interim between the resignation of the Governorship and his inauguration as President, was taken up with political work. He was ready for the serious duties that had devolved upon him, and it may be said with truth that no man ever came to the Presidency with less of the outward preparation that was formerly deemed essential to the man chosen to fill this great office. He had never been in politics in the ordinary acceptation of that term. As he had never looked forward to a political career for himself, so he did not think it necessary to train himself for one by seeking a position in the Common Council of his town, or in the legislature of his State. He had never been Chairman of a State or County Committee, or an accepted manager of his party. He had held offices, but he had never made any of them, whatever its character, a partisan position, and its use for personal ends was entirely foreign to his nature and his ideas.

The fact is sometimes overlooked, however, that every place Mr. Cleveland had filled was an executive office and nothing else; whether as an assistant to the District Attorney, Sheriff of his county, Mayor of Buffalo, or Governor of New York, he had had the execution of the laws, not the making of them. In each he was compelled to assume responsibility; to exercise his judgment; to carry out now one existing law, then to promote the enactment of a good measure or to put a veto on a bad or dangerous one. Whatever it was, he was compelled to do and dare; he could not skulk behind the decrees of a caucus, or obey the behests of a primary, or shield himself from a disagreeable necessity by throwing the blame upon somebody else.

This character, with its peculiar fitness, and this remarkable political experience—have been set forth as briefly as possible, and yet as fully as necessary, in the preceding chapters of this work. We must now go with him to his inauguration as President of the United States, the most august and responsible office in the world.

CHAPTER VIII.

ORGANIZING THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

A FEW days before the 4th of March, 1885, the day fixed by law for the inauguration of the President, Mr. Cleveland left his home in Albany for Washington. He was received by President Arthur with a courtesy which always distinguished that remarkable man, and one of the pleasant features of politics is the close friendship that grew up between the two men. As the result of this, when the ex-President died, during the first year of Mr. Cleveland's Administration, he had few more sincere mourners than the man who had succeeded him a few months before in the White House. Everything was done that could possibly contribute to the comfort of the new occupant of the Executive Mansion.

Perhaps no inauguration was ever marked with more pageantry and more genuine rejoicing than that which ushered Grover Cleveland into the highest office

in the gift of his countrymen. The day was one of those perfect ones that finally gained, from the new President, the distinctive name of "Cleveland weather." The exercises had been organized with the greatest elaboration, and by men long accustomed to the handling of crowds and to the management of ceremonials. The regular army, the marines, the navy, the artillery, the Marine Band, and large detachments from the militia of the several States, especially from Pennsylvania, swelled the military procession to something like 25,000 men. As usual, the formal ceremony of inauguration was completed by the delivery, at the east front of the Capitol, of the inauguration message by the new President.

It had been the custom of almost every President since the beginning to read his address. Mr. Cleveland departed from this, and rising before the great audience, on that most beautiful of March days, he delivered his inaugural address as coolly and as calmly as if he had been talking with his friends in a parlor. His com-

posure and self-confidence were remarked at the time, and not long ago one of his bitterest personal and political enemies said in a lecture that nothing like it had ever been seen in the history of the world—the spectacle of a man who, without experience in the larger politics, had come to the Presidency, standing unabashed before his countrymen to deliver his inaugural address without a line of manuscript or a word of note before him.

His inaugural address was pitched on the lofty plane which had distinguished all of his public utterances up to that time, and which has become more distinctive as his position among his countrymen has become more secure. There was a widely prevailing sentiment that the change from a party that had held power for twenty-five years to one that had been excluded from it during all that time had some elements of danger; but he took occasion to assure his countrymen that although the executive branch was transferred to new keeping, it “was still the government of all the people, and should be none the less

an object of their affectionate solicitude," and he adjured his countrymen to renew their pledge of devotion to the Constitution, which, as he eloquently expressed it, had "for almost a century borne the hopes and aspirations of a great people through prosperity and peace, and through the shock of foreign conflicts and the perils of domestic strife and vicissitudes."

He proceeded to set forth at considerable length his conception of the duties of a Chief Magistrate to the people, and of the people to their Government, emphasizing the ideas that had found expression in previous utterances, and especially in his letters accepting the nomination for Governor and President. It is not too much to say that this inaugural address did more to win the confidence of the American people than all he had said or done before his election to that august office. It was pitched on such a high plane from first to last; its loftiness of tone was so apparent; the sincerity of the man who spoke it was accepted so unquestioningly and promptly, that the bitter par-

tisans who had just been turned out of power, and their representatives in the newspapers, could find nothing in it to warrant the continuance of the petty warfare they had carried on until this time. He thus started auspiciously on the new work to which he had been called.

On the day following the inauguration, he began the organization of the Executive Departments by sending to the senate the names of the men he had chosen as private secretary and as members of his Cabinet.

The selection of the former was an easy task. It was natural that Mr. Cleveland should take with him from his old to his new duties Daniel S. Lamont, who had done such faithful work in Albany. It would not have been possible for the new President to find a man better fitted for the delicate and important duties intrusted to him. He had already demonstrated his ability and usefulness so thoroughly as to command the confidence and gain the acquaintance of many of the best men in the country. If this appointment had needed

justification, it was soon found in the record that Mr. Lamont made in his new office. For four years he went in and out before the American people, without spot or blemish, making himself acceptable to men of all parties, gaining the friendship and good will of all the people with whom he was thrown in contact. More than any man who ever occupied that office before or since, he impressed himself upon the people of the country by his ability and tact. He soon became more than a private secretary, and was recognized as part and parcel of the Administration. It is certain that no incumbent of that office came into such close personal and political relations with his chief as did Daniel S. Lamont. As the result of it he was almost as well known, when he left office with Mr. Cleveland on the 4th of March, 1889, as was his chief himself. Keen, calm, self-collected, saying no more than he must, with an almost perfect insight into men, during all this time he was not only the most effective of private secretaries, but the close and acknowledged friend of

the President. The relations thus formed have been maintained during all the intervening years, and there is, perhaps, no man upon whom Mr. Cleveland relies more implicitly than upon his old-time secretary.

The newer generation of Democrats had had little opportunity to prove their fitness for executive office. This made it almost necessary when a Democrat came to the Presidency that he should look about him carefully, and should conclude to take from the senate some of the men who should be called into his Cabinet as official advisers. Apparently, Mr. Cleveland did not feel bound to follow any precedents in the choice of a Cabinet, so he proceeded upon a plan of his own. Under no obligation to give a Cabinet place to any man because he had been voted for in the convention which nominated the successful candidate; his own nomination having been made so spontaneously that he had incurred no obligations; the log-rolling elements having been absent from the convention and canvass more thoroughly than in any previous case in

the history of the country, he looked about him and found that he could best satisfy himself by taking three members of his Administration from the United States Senate. He consulted freely with everybody entitled to consideration, whether he was the possessor of a great name or not. Many a man, occupying a comparatively humble place, found himself summoned to Albany to give some account of those whose names had been mentioned in the press or presented by their friends for appointment as members of the Cabinet.

The men chosen from the Senate were Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, as Secretary of State; L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi, as Secretary of the Interior, and Augustus H. Garland of Arkansas, as Attorney General.

The nomination of Mr. Bayard was a natural, almost an inevitable one. It would have been difficult for a Democratic President, seeking a man to fill the office of Secretary of State, to pass by the name of Mr. Bayard. To great ability, to posi-

tion won as well as inherited, he added long and distinguished service, industry, wide acquaintance with public men and measures, thorough devotion to his party, the broadest and most unquestioned patriotism, and a character absolutely unsullied. Passing through a period the most corrupt that this country had known, no man had or has ever so much as whispered a word against the character or the motives of Thomas F. Bayard.

Mr. Lamar had seen service in the House of Representatives before the war, had borne a leading and honorable part in the ill-starred and short-lived effort to establish the Southern Confederacy, and had been sent back to the lower house of congress as soon as his people had gained control of their forces from the pestiferous carpet-baggers who had invaded the South like the plagues of ancient Egypt. He bore a quiet part until in 1875, when, after the death of Charles Sumner, he distinguished himself by the delivery in the House of Representatives of a eulogy which at once carried him to the front as an orator and as

a man of large mind and of distinguished ability. The step to the senate was an easy one, and while there he distinguished himself by many acts of the highest patriotism. When the State of Mississippi instructed its senators to vote for a bill having much financial heresy in it Mr. Lamar absolutely refused to obey these instructions, and appealing to the people of his State was re-elected. In every place he had proved himself an honest, able, patriotic public servant—a man of deep sentiment and of poetic instincts, but one who had so much about him of the practical that he was far more of a success in an executive office than even his friends had thought possible.

Augustus H. Garland first came to the fore after the war as Governor of the State of Arkansas. Perhaps in no State in the Union did plunder run riot with less fear of punishment, but the very violence of this corruption soon produced a cure, and it so happened that Arkansas was practically the first State in the South to regain full control of its own affairs. That it did

so with success was largely due to the wisdom and ability of Mr. Garland, who, as its first Democratic Governor, found in it conditions of the most serious kind, and grappled with them so successfully that he not only redeemed his own State, but set an example to the other States that they were quick to follow.

The man chosen for Secretary of war, William C. Endicott of Massachusetts, had had a creditable judicial career and had been the candidate of his party for Governor of that State. Though without experience in an executive office he was appointed to a position which, important in itself, had declined in the demands that it made upon the holder of it.

* As Secretary of the Treasury—in reality at the time mentioned the most important position in the gift of the President—Daniel Manning of New York was chosen. From humble beginnings, Mr. Manning had made his way up until he had occupied an enviable position as a newspaper manager and banker. As an incident of these, and under the distinguished tutelage

of Samuel J. Tilden, Mr. Manning had, for many years, taken an active part in politics as a manager for his party, in its conventions as well as in its campaigns. He had never sought office for himself, and was, perhaps, quite as much surprised as any man when his name was first discussed in connection with this great and important office. He took office at a time when the finances of the country were in a most difficult condition, but as responsibility was placed upon him, he developed such fitness for his place that, before a single year had passed, his name was impressed upon the public mind as one of the few great Secretaries of the Treasury, and will go down to history as representing a man scarcely less efficient in that great office than Albert Gallatin, Levi Woodbury, Salmon P. Chase, and Hugh McCulloch. When he resigned, after less than two years of service, with health impaired as the result of the magnitude of the duties and responsibilities put upon him, his position as a great administrator, and as a figure in the history of his country, was

universally recognized. Perhaps few men of his time have been mourned more sincerely than he when he died, early in 1888.

The President took the unusual step of choosing two Cabinet officers from his own State, whose dominance in the politics of the Union, especially in the Democratic party, had not grown less because of the great and rapid development of the West and South. The second man was William C. Whitney, chosen to be Secretary of the Navy. None of his selections more fully justified itself than did this one. It was soon conceded, almost without exception, that no occupant of that office in the history of the country had shown the possession of greater practical ability. His training as a lawyer, and his experience in public service in the great city of New York, had given him just those gifts, and the capacity for work, which fitted him to carry out successfully the task of reconstructing the navy of the United States on new and modern lines.

When General Grant returned from his

tour around the world a young lawyer, named William F. Vilas, was engaged in the practice of the law in Madison, the capital town of Wisconsin. At a banquet given to the General in Chicago Mr. Vilas sprang at once to the front as one of the finished orators of the country. In 1884 he had been chosen to preside over the National Convention which nominated Mr. Cleveland, and he it was whom the new President chose to fill the office of Post master General. He had been a lawyer in successful practice with whom politics was merely an incident. Of all the members of the Cabinet Mr. Vilas probably gave the closest attention to the business of his office in all its details, as well as to the making of its general policy. In 1888, when Mr. Lamar was taken from the head of the Interior Department and made a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Vilas was transferred from the head of the Post-office Department to that of the Interior. In his new position he distinguished himself by the same unwearied industry and by that per-

fect devotion to his duties which had made him a reputation and enabled him greatly to improve the morale and the efficiency of the postal service.

The President exercised the same care in filling the less dignified of the offices in his gift. Many of these places with but moderate salaries rise almost to the dignity of a Cabinet place. The men chosen for these positions were of a higher average character than any that had been seen for many administrations.

Among them was Charles S. Fairchild of New York, who had served with acceptability as Attorney General of his own State and was now transferred to Federal politics as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, only to come to the head of that office upon the retirement of his chief, Mr. Manning.

It is impossible to enumerate in the space at my disposal the names, and to describe with anything like completeness the characters, of the men appointed to these secondary places. It seemed that the Democracy of every State in the Union

had determined to put forward its best men; and many a man whose business yielded him a large income was prevailed upon to accept an important office with a small salary and with the recognized necessity for much hard work. Among them may be mentioned George A. Jenks of Pennsylvania, who first became Assistant Secretary of the Interior and later Solicitor General of the United States; the late Malcom Hay of the same State, who, because of ill-health, which soon resulted in his death, was compelled to give up the office of First Assistant Postmaster General, and was succeeded by Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, now the Democratic candidate for Vice President; Norman J. Colman, who became Commissioner of Agriculture, and gave the department such dignity and usefulness that it was raised to the rank of a Cabinet office, of which he became the first incumbent. Conrad N. Jordan of New York, one of the most experienced financiers of the country, accepted the position of Treasurer of the United States and impressed his ideas and policy upon

the general management of fiscal affairs. The late Joseph E. Johnston, the veteran soldier of the Confederacy, became Commissioner of Railroads, and William S. Rosecrans, one of the heroes of the Union, accepted the position of Register of the Treasury, while John C. Black of Illinois, in every way an excellent soldier, became Commissioner of Pensions.

The names mentioned are only specimens of the kind of men that Mr. Cleveland insisted should be drawn into the public service. There was less of the policy of taking care of the "lame ducks" of politics than had ever been seen. Fewer of the names of men who by accident had got into congress, only to fail, were found among the appointees of the new President than had ever been known. As a result of this the number of political barnacles was smaller than usual under Mr. Cleveland's administration.

In the diplomatic service, which since the days of reconstruction had been growing rather better as to the ability and character of its members, the improvement was ac-

celerated under Mr. Cleveland's administration. This was shown by the sending of Edward J. Phelps of Vermont as Minister to England; Robert M. McLane of Maryland to France; George H. Pendleton of Ohio to Germany; George V. N. Lathrop of Michigan to Russia; Samuel S. Cox and Oscar S. Straus of New York, successively to Turkey; J. B. Stallo of Ohio to Italy; J. L. M. Curry of Virginia to Spain, and Charles Denby of Indiana to China. The minor offices, as well as the most important, were filled with the same general type of men as those already mentioned. As the result of this care few scandals were developed in the diplomatic and consular service during Mr. Cleveland's administration.

He proceeded in the same way to choose the best men he could find for collectors of the ports and postmasters of the principal cities. In a few cases, where the President felt bound to concede something to the local political managers, the result was not satisfactory to him or to the service, but there was very little of this, and Mr.

Cleveland soon developed the unusual gift of putting a man out of office, with a good deal more promptness than he had put him in, when he discovered that he either had not the ability to carry on its work with efficiency, or that he lacked the character to maintain the high level which he himself had fixed for his administration.

Most of the men in important places were thus chosen with direct reference to their character and fitness. They were Democrats, of course, only a single appointment, that of Postmaster of New York, having been made from men who were not avowed members of the President's own party. In this case the late Henry G. Pearson had done so much to improve the postal service, in which he had grown up from boyhood, that he was reappointed by the President, and that, too, in spite of the protest of the more violent of his own partisans.

The President had carried out his own ideas of what the civil service should be, not in mere clerkships or in petty

places, in which one man might do the work about as well as another, but in those great administrative positions where ability and character count for little unless they are united with peculiar fitness for executive duties.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WORK OF ADMINISTRATION.

THE ceremonials over, and the work of reorganizing the government intrusted to competent hands, the President and his advisers settled down to hard work.

In reviewing briefly the history of the four years of Grover Cleveland's administration as President, it will be impossible to follow at all times the chronological method. A more satisfactory and certainly a more logical plan is to treat it topically; that is, to review the distinctive work of the various departments. I have no purpose of writing a history of every detail of that administration which for four years conducted the affairs of the country so successfully, but a brief view

conducted upon the lines marked out will, I am sure, suffice to give my readers a clear idea of the principles upon which Mr. Cleveland did his work, and the success he had in putting those principles into practice.

However able the advisers of a President may be he will, if he is a man of commanding ability and lofty character, dominate his administration at nearly every point. Everything done cannot be his, but, as a rule, no great thing can be done unless it is the expression of his opinion and the execution of his policy.

Mr. Cleveland did not treat his Cabinet officers as mere clerks. He looked upon them as helpers in a great cause—men of standing in the country, carefully trained in public life, who, believing as he did as to the general principles of government, might impress their own ideas upon the detail work of their departments and carry them out as best they could. But everywhere and at all times the great policies that he had enunciated during the few years of his public life were soon

recognized as the dominant ideas of the administration. That these were adopted in many cases upon the suggestion of his Secretaries made them none the less his. He insisted that these men should develop their own plans and policies, believing that their ideas were in substantial accord with his own.

Generally speaking, the politics of this country are pretty free from serious difficulties with foreign governments, so that when complications arise that in other lands might be looked upon as trivial, they produce a sense of irritation quite out of proportion to their real importance. During the four years of Mr. Cleveland's administration no serious misunderstanding arose, and yet there was abundant occasion for diplomatic intervention, and for the careful conduct of the matters assigned to the Secretary of State. There was no scandal in the management of the department. No attempt was made to exploit a foreign policy, when nothing in the situation required it. Nobody was able to use the department to enforce the collection

of vast sums of blood money from friendly, though petty governments. The efforts to collect claims against Peru, which, made under Garfield, had been abandoned under Arthur, were doomed to ignominious failure under Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Bayard. A man named Jewett tried in this way to lodge a claim for some \$50,000,000 against the Government of Brazil, but upon investigation it was found that if any loss had resulted it could not amount at the utmost to more than a thousand dollars. Still further investigation showed that the whole thing was trumped up. The Secretary dismissed it, with a prompt and curt refusal to give it any further official consideration.

Fewer demands than usual arose for the protection of American citizens abroad. Such came, however, from Mexico, England, and Turkey. In the first-named country a somewhat ridiculous person named Cutting was arrested for acts committed in this country, and was brought up for trial on the south of the Rio Grande. A protest from the department against the

action of the Mexican Government was effective, and the offender, no doubt much to his own discomfiture and a loss of the notoriety which he so much coveted, was released from custody. It was one of those petty incidents that could not be entirely dismissed, but it was little more than an annoyance.

Intervention was asked by naturalized American citizens of Irish birth, tried under English laws, for offenses committed in England. Their cases were carefully considered and representations made to the the government of Her Majesty that their release would be agreeable to the authorities of this country. It appeared, however, that the prisoners did not claim the protection of this government at the time of arraignment and trial, and that they had been fairly tried under English laws and convicted of serious offenses against person and property. So it became evident that their claim for protection from their adopted country was not well founded.

Perhaps nothing more distinctive was done during the entire administration than

the success of Oscar S. Straus, Minister to Turkey, in putting the American missions and the schools connected with them upon a recognized basis. For many years before Mr. Cox and Mr. Straus were sent to Turkey, our representatives there had been little more than ridiculous. Some of them had been men who neither knew nor cared about the work that had been intrusted to them, while others looked only for a certain notoriety for themselves. But Mr. Straus went carefully to work to correct existing wrongs and to place the missions and their schools upon a permanent basis. In this he was eminently successful. He was a business man of large experience as well as a lawyer well trained in his profession. He appeared to know just what ought to be done and how to do it, and to have a faculty for dealing successfully with the Oriental mind. The commendations bestowed upon him and upon Mr. Cleveland's administration since his return were earned by strong ideas and excellent intentions carried into practice.

During the earlier part of the adminis-

tration a comprehensive treaty with China was negotiated by the Secretary of State under the direction of the President. Under the provisions of this treaty the Chinese Government agreed to meet the views of the United States and to prevent further immigration into this country of Chinese laborers. But the senate, moved by a desire to gain a partisan advantage, inserted in this treaty some insignificant amendments which the Emperor of China refused to ratify or accept. It was this refusal to accept a definite treaty—a refusal based entirely upon a supposed partisan advantage—that rendered necessary the drastic legislation of the last year of the Cleveland administration, which took form in what was known as the “Scott law.” Its effects were felt, too, in the enactment by a succeeding congress of an exclusion law, to take the place of one that had expired by its own terms—a law which even some of the extreme advocates of the exclusion policy have felt called upon to condemn. There is little doubt that if the Bayard treaty had been

ratified further immigration of Chinese to this country would have been prevented by agreement quite as effectively as it is now by force.

A peculiar complication arose with Austria early in 1885. Soon after Mr. Cleveland's accession to office he nominated as Minister to Italy a resident of Virginia, A. M. Kieley by name. It turned out that in 1870 Mr. Kieley had made a speech at a public meeting in Richmond, in his State, in which he had indulged in violent denunciations of King Victor Emanuel for his treatment of the Pope. This having been developed, the Italian Government, through its representative in Washington, intimated to the Department of State that Mr. Kieley was *persona non grata* to the king. The appointee may have been lacking somewhat in the diplomatic quality, but it was a petty affair for a great government to claim as a cause of offense. His nomination was withdrawn. Later his name was sent to the senate to fill the office of Minister to Austria-Hungary.

Mr. Kieley had married a woman of

Jewish birth, and the anti-semitic agitation was then at its fiercest throughout all the German-speaking countries. For some reason, therefore, the Austrian Government made his withdrawal from Italy an excuse for objecting to his appointment as Minister to Vienna, and no other reason being available the fact that his wife belonged to the race then persecuted was put forward. The Austrian Minister represented to the Secretary of State and to the President that no Jewess could be received in the social circles in Vienna, and that, as a consequence, her husband would not be an acceptable Minister to the court of that country.

The President and his Secretary refused to accept an excuse so flimsy, and the Secretary of State in two letters to the Austrian Minister resented the objections based upon such an allegation. He rebuked the religious bigotry which could suggest such a course, and announced that the United States would never assent to the creation or enforcement of such tests as Austria sought to impose. The letters

which Mr. Bayard wrote in defense of this policy have seldom been excelled in our diplomatic literature for careful writing, sound views, and loftiness of thought. The President, in his first annual message, announced the policy he had adopted, and added a spirited rebuke to that administered by his Secretary. The mission to Austria was left vacant for more than a year in order to emphasize more thoroughly the unalterable opposition of this country to the imposition of religious tests.

In 1886 Mr. Phelps, Minister at the Court of St. James, concluded with Lord Rosebery, Minister of Foreign Affairs under Mr. Gladstone, as the representative of Her Majesty's Government, a treaty providing for the extradition of criminals who should escape from the jurisdiction of one country into that of another. It added four new extraditable offenses to the seven already recognized by existing treaties. These were: Manslaughter, burglary, embezzlement or larceny to the value of \$50 or £10 sterling or upward, and malicious injuries to property whereby the

life of any person should be endangered, if such injuries should constitute a crime according to the laws of both the contracting parties.

When the senate received the treaty from its committee on Foreign Affairs it was discovered that offensive words concerning the use of explosives had found a place in the treaty. It was assumed by the Republican press and speakers that this was an attempt on the part of England to secure the arrest of certain men charged with the use of dynamite; and the interpolation was resented by many classes of citizens.

At once the Republican press asserted that the offensive words had appeared in the original treaty as negotiated by Mr. Phelps. The discussion of this question was conducted in executive session of the senate, so that it was not difficult to maintain such a position; and it was an almost impossible task to expose the falsity of the charge. It was persistently asserted, even until the close of the Presidential canvass of 1888, but after the election

when the truth came out it was made plain that the objectionable words had been inserted in the treaty, not by the original negotiators, but by the Republican majority of the senate committee on Foreign Affairs.

In February, 1888, a treaty was concluded between the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, which would have definitely settled the contention which, since 1818, had gone on between the two English countries on the one hand and the United States on the other hand. The negotiations were concluded in Washington, and a treaty, fair to all interests, one under which all difficulties were in a fair way of being disposed of, was agreed to unanimously by the Commissioners from all the countries represented. The senators from Maine and Massachusetts, in pursuance of their usual policy on this question, with the hope of gaining a partisan advantage, raised the same old cry of surrender to Canada, and the treaty was rejected by a partisan vote. After its rejection the

President sent to congress a vigorous message in which he announced that unless Canadian exactions upon our fishermen should cease, he would be compelled to resort to the retaliatory measures authorized by laws already in existence, under which he would prohibit the transit of goods in bond across and over the territories of the United States to and from Canada.

Thus the management of the State Department, which always comes closely into relation with the President himself, had been careful, just, and honest.

The management of the finances of the government was, as has already been stated, intrusted in the first instance to the late Daniel Manning. When he took charge of the Treasury Department on March 6, 1885, he found two great and threatening perils. Nearly all of the indebtedness of the government that was due had been paid, and still the laws which yielded a surplus were in effect, and nearly one hundred millions of dollars a year more than there was any demand for

in the legitimate and economical administration of the country were collected under them. At the same time all attempts to get the people of the country to use the silver dollars, heaped up in the vaults of the Treasury and in government warehouses, failed.

This condition of affairs continuing, and congress refusing and failing to pass laws for the reduction of the revenues, it became evident, early in 1887, that this continued drain of money from the people was becoming a serious menace to business interests and was creating a feeling of great anxiety. There was the ever present danger that a severe stringency in the money market would be the natural effect. The Secretary of the Treasury, Charles S. Fairchild, who had succeeded Mr. Manning upon his retirement because of impaired health, determined early in 1887 that, instead of distributing the purchases for the sinking fund over the whole fiscal year, as would naturally have been done under ordinary circumstances, he would invest at once or as rapidly as possible the entire amount neces-

sary for this purpose, nearly twenty-eight millions. This was done in the hope of relieving the financial situation at a period of the year when a larger amount of money than usual is necessary for the purchase and movement of the new crop. In pursuance of this policy, bonds to the amount of \$24,844,650 were purchased at a cost of \$27,842,237.10. By the prompt distribution of this large sum of money in the hands of the people the threatened danger was averted.

The same policy was pursued in the succeeding year, with the exception that instead of waiting until the crisis was imminent the circular was issued in April, four months earlier than in the preceding year. This was done for the purpose of inviting bids from the small holders of the obligations of the government. By this method owners of bonds to the amount of \$50 were permitted to offer their holdings direct to the Treasury. Many investors willing to turn their bonds into money by dealing directly with the government, but not inclined to sell at a lower price to the banks

or syndicates, were induced to part with them, and thus do their share in the relief of the financial situation. Under this policy, and as the result of the circulars so issued, there were bought within less than eleven months bonds to the amount of \$51,621,500, at a total cost of \$60,230,031.50. As these were interest-bearing, the sum saved to the Treasury in interest by the operation during the year under discussion was \$14,790,352.53.

The positive success of this policy was not sufficient to hinder the continued growth of a surplus in the Treasury. This increased from \$45,698,549.15 on June 30, 1887, to \$111,880,808.67 on June 30, 1888, the close of the last fiscal year of the Cleveland administration. In this emergency a decision was reached to increase the deposits in the national banks under the law of March 3, 1881, under the provisions of which it had been the policy of the Treasury to limit the deposits allowed to banks to 90 per cent. of the face value of the bonds deposited as security. In order to make it more of an object to the

banks for them to draw some of this surplus money out of the Treasury and to get it into the channels of business, the plan was adopted of allowing a deposit to the par value of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds and a deposit of 110 per cent. against the 4 per cents. due in 1907.

The result was so encouraging that while 141 national banks held only \$12,928,264.46 at the close of the fiscal year on June 30, 1887, on June 30, 1888, at the close of the next fiscal year, 294 national banks had acquired deposits to the amount of \$59,979,039.63. The number of banks had almost doubled, while the deposits had increased nearly fivefold. This money was distributed fairly, without the least favoritism, and without inquiry as to the politics of the managers of the financial institutions so intrusted, and, finding its way into the banks of every section of the country, did much to promote healthful business development and to strengthen the confidence of the public.

The credit of the government was well shown by the average selling price of the

4 per cent. bonds at different periods during the four years under treatment. In March, 1885, these bonds were worth 122.326 and yielded investors an average interest rate of 2.731 per cent. In December, 1885, the average price was 124.023 and the investment value 2.614 per cent. In June, 1888, the average price had increased to 127.938 and the investment value had diminished to 2.245 per cent. per annum, so that in spite of the fact that the bonds had approached three years nearer to maturity their price had steadily advanced. In this way the confidence of both investors and the public was emphasized and the conservatism and safety of our financial management was assured.

The silver question was dealt with in such a way as to reduce to a minimum the danger which threatened the business interests of the country. On June 30, 1884, the total coinage of standard silver dollars under the compulsory law of 1878 had reached \$175,355,829. Of this there were in circulation \$137,052,472, of which the sum of \$97,507,011 was represented

by outstanding certificates, and \$39,545,461 by silver coin in circulation. On June 30, 1888, the number of dollars coined under the same law had reached 299,424,790, of which 229,491,722 were outstanding in the shape of certificates, and 55,545,203 in coin. This increase was due in large measure to the fact that the small denominations of the Treasury notes were withdrawn from circulation, and their places taken by silver certificates of the same denominations, as well as to the policy of the Treasury in not discrediting the silver coin, but a resolution to make the best possible use of it, and thus to relieve, as far as possible, a situation which had in it so many dangerous elements.

The reduction of the public debt went on steadily in spite of the fact that almost none of the obligations of the government fell due. The amount of this reduction during the three full fiscal years from June, 1882, to June 30, 1885, was \$299,671,031.34. The reduction during the corresponding period of three years, from June 30, 1885, to June 30, 1888, was \$312,-

347,549.18, an average annual increase during the Cleveland administration of more than \$4,000,000 over a like period under Garfield and Arthur.

In spite, too, of the great increase in the volume of business the percentage of the cost of collecting the revenue continually declined. In the year 1885, about one-third of which was under a Democratic Secretary, the cost of collecting the customs revenue was 3.77 per cent.; in 1886 it declined to 3.30; in 1887 to 3.16, and in 1888 to 2.98; and the cost of collecting the internal revenues, which was 3.93 in 1885, gradually fell to 3.20 in 1888. These reductions were made possible by the cutting off of useless offices and by the adoption by the government of the same methods that a business man would employ in private or corporate concerns.

The last process was applied to the management of the department proper. Unnecessary expenditures were cut off and the increase in the number of clerks in the different bureaus did not keep pace with the growth of work and efficiency. Far

more labor was done under the careful management of Mr. Manning and Mr. Fairchild with the same force than had been done under their predecessors. Exorbitant allowances and salaries were reduced, unnecessary bureaus abolished or consolidated, and in every way the working of the department was managed with a great deal of economy.

CHAPTER X.

THE WORK OF ADMINISTRATION (CONTINUED).

It is scarcely necessary now to repeat in detail the old and oft-told story of the degradation of the United States between 1868 and 1885. In his first annual report, submitted to the President in December of the last-named year, Mr. Whitney said :

“The country has expended since July 1, 1868, over seventy-five millions of money on the construction, repair, equipment, and ordnance of vessels, which sum, with a very slight exception, had been substantially thrown away, the exception being a few ships now in process of construction. . . .

For about seventy of the seventy-five millions expended by the department for the creation of a navy, we have nothing to show.”

The story of waste, waste of time, waste of money, and, worst of all, waste of morals, is a story of national shame. There was not only jobbery in building and jobbery in repairs, but there was jobbery in the detail management and in the purchase of the supplies necessary to keep our poor ships afloat and supply their men with clothing and provisions.

When Secretary Whitney took charge of the department in March, 1885, the United States did not have a single war vessel which could have kept the seas for a week, and was at the same time dependent upon English manufacturers for gun forgings, armor, and secondary batteries. There were only two vessels on the Navy Register—the *Tennessee*, a ramshackle wooden craft since condemned, and the *Chicago*, then building, but not in commission. At the close of the administration, the Register carried the names of four ves-

sels, first class not only in name, but in reality. They were the *Chicago*, with 4590 tons displacement; *Baltimore*, with 4400; *Philadelphia*, with 4324; and the *San Francisco*, of 4083 tons. Several vessels were nearly completed at the close of Mr. Cleveland's administration, in March, 1889, and the present efficiency of the navy is due almost entirely to the careful and faithful execution of the laws by Mr. Cleveland and his Secretary of the Navy. In less than a year after the close of the administration, the United States had eight or ten vessels of modern type, creditable to the most progressive nation upon earth, as they would have been useful to the most warlike.

The President and Secretary Whitney early perceived that by no possibility could the government build a new navy, which would be both effective and American, while the United States were dependent upon foreign countries for guns and armor. In order to encourage manufactories for the furnishing of armor, the policy was adopted in 1886 of putting into a single contract all

the armor authorized by congress, and at the same time of allowing bidders the necessary time to take steps for building the plant for making this armor. In June, 1887, only two years after the advent of the new administration, a contract was entered into with the Bethlehem Iron Company, of Bethlehem, Pa., under which a plant for the construction of both armor and gun steel was to be perfected. The work of providing this was still under way when Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Whitney left office. Under this policy the government was able to escape from the condition of industrial dependence into which twenty years of waste, incompetency, and dishonesty had plunged it. From that time the government of the United States, like that of any other first-class power, was able to construct vessels built entirely from material, labor, and capital furnished by its own people. A great deal has been said about protecting and building up new industries, but in this way effective work was done directly and legitimately. By a single act of enlightened policy Mr. Cleveland and his

Secretary had done more for the encouragement of an important industry than could have been accomplished by half a dozen new tariff schedules increasing the rates of duty.

But it was not alone in the construction of new vessels that an advance was made. The business methods of the department and the management of its detail affairs were completely revolutionized. Bureaus were re-organized and put in charge of careful and honest men. The purchase of supplies for several of these bureaus was consolidated and placed under a responsible head. So effective did this policy prove that while in 1884 and 1885 more than fifty per cent. of the value of the supplies was purchased in the open market without competition, in 1888 the proportion of supplies so purchased had been reduced to less than eleven per cent. All these improvements, with new vessels finished and under way, with new plant for armor and guns, built by private capital thus guaranteed work, the cost of the department was less than for the three

fiscal years, 1886, 1887, and 1888, than for the three corresponding years of the preceding administration. The total expenditures of the department for 1882, 1883, and 1884, as fixed by statute and beyond the control of the Secretary, were \$27,757,866.35. This included nearly \$2,000,000 expended on steel cruisers and monitors. During the years 1886, 1887, and 1888 the total expenditures as fixed by congress were \$30,910,486.25, in which were included two items, absent from the previous period, for increase of navy and vessels and monitors aggregating \$3,347,935.55. But the largest proportionate saving was made in the ordinary bureau expenses of the department directly under the control of the Secretary.

For the full three years' period during President Arthur's administration this amounted to \$20,224,531.28. For the last period, the corresponding three years under Mr. Cleveland, the expenses for the same bureaus were only \$15,920,143.99. Reductions were made in every bureau but one, while the expenditure for contingent ex-

penses, which for the first period amounted to \$12,900,570, had declined in the corresponding period to \$1,179,760. At last it had been demonstrated that the Navy Department could be conducted honestly, efficiently, and upon business principles. When this was done it was not difficult to induce congress—which for many years had shown itself unwilling to vote the necessary appropriations—to provide the money necessary for the maintenance of the honor of the country by building a navy worthy of the name.

Although the Secretary of War had few opportunities to make much of a show or even to display great executive ability, that department did all there was to do, and did it well. Early in his administration the President set about the work of breaking up the system of favoritism which had so long made that department a nest of intrigue. The officers who, by the use of every kind of influence, had been getting assignments to soft places for twenty years, were sent to their regiments, in order that they might not entirely forget

the profession which the government had enabled them to acquire at West Point. Because of the growth of the Western Territories and of the success of the peaceful policy so consistently carried out by Mr. Cleveland and his administration, there was almost no employment during his term for the regular army. However, in spite of this fact, its discipline and condition were constantly improved, mainly for the reason that, like the other departments, it was conducted on business principles.

The Department of Justice was conducted without noise or bluster and with great efficiency. During a considerable portion of the time covered by the Cleveland administration the duties of the Attorney General were done by his Solicitor General, George A. Jenks, of Pennsylvania, but whether the work was directed by Mr. Garland or Mr. Jenks it was well and faithfully done. The President himself being a lawyer of careful training and recognized position, with a conscientious devotion to his profession, gave close attention to all questions of a

legal character. Congress had just enacted many important laws imposing additional work upon this department. As the result of this 39,361 criminal prosecutions were disposed of during the years 1885, 1886, and 1887, against 27,828 for the three full years of the preceding administration. All this additional business was transacted at an increased expense of a little more than a quarter of a million dollars for the whole period. The laws against violators were strictly enforced in every part of the country, and no serious scandal attached itself to a marshal or to a district attorney in any State or Territory.

During Mr. Cleveland's term a Chief Justice was chosen to succeed Morrison R. Waite. After careful consideration this great office was conferred upon Melville W. Fuller, one of the leaders of his profession in the West, and the success with which he has administered an important trust has fully justified the confidence of the President. An Associate Justice was appointed in the person of L. Q. C. Lamar, Mr. Cleveland's Secretary of the Interior.

He, too, has done his work with general acceptance to the country and his profession. One Circuit Judge and eleven District Judges were also appointed, all of them men of excellent standing in their several localities. In fact, no President ever devoted more attention to the choice of judges and all other officials who had to do with the machinery of the law than did Mr. Cleveland.

The Post-office has grown so rapidly of late years, and become such an immense establishment, that it demands the highest administrative talent that it may keep itself continually in touch with the development of the country. In 1883 the letter postage rate was reduced from three to two cents, and the weight limit increased from half an ounce to an ounce. During that and the following years marked reductions were made in the rates on second-class postage matter, and in the limit of weight for a very considerable portion of that embraced in the third class. But such was the unprecedented growth of the volume of business that in

spite of these concessions the receipts increased from \$42,560,843.83 in 1885 to \$52,672,735.30 in 1888, nearly 25 per cent. in three years. At the same time the expense for carrying on this greatly augmented service only increased from \$49,782,619.09 in 1883 to \$56,468,315.20 in 1888, or only about 11.4 per cent. more for transacting a business 25 per cent. greater. Each dollar in receipts cost the government \$1.17 in 1885 and only \$1.06 in 1888.

In spite of the unexampled growth of the service a decided saving was effected in the transportation of the mails. This was done by economy in star route, steamboat, and railway charges; by the discontinuance of illegal allowances for apartment-car service; by a readjustment of the pay of land-grant railroads, and in the reduced cost of mail equipment. While all this was done a decided improvement was made in the number and speed of the fast mail routes. For the first time in the history of the department parcels post contracts were concluded with Mexico and the West Indian

and South American countries, and the department itself at Washington was conducted with the greatest efficiency and economy. Not a scandal or serious abuse was developed, while many antiquated ways of doing business were replaced by improved methods. The free delivery service was greatly enlarged and, under the careful management of William F. Vilas and Don M. Dickinson, its extension to the smaller towns was made a permanent policy. This has been followed up by their successors in office, thus giving many thousands of people in the United States the boon of a free delivery of their letters. The money order system was extended to a large number of new offices, and improvements in the methods of managing this department went hand in hand with this extension.

For nearly three years of the administration the work was carried on by Mr. Vilas. He was succeeded early in 1888 by Don M. Dickinson of Michigan, who proved himself in every way worthy to hold a place under such a chief and to

succeed so efficient an officer as Mr. Vilas. No more efficient man has made his way into public life of recent years, or been tried more thoroughly in a difficult department, than Mr. Cleveland's second Postmaster General. He was not only an excellent official, but proved himself in every way an able man, and has been recognized everywhere as one of the firmest and most consistent friends of the man who called him into his councils.

For many years before the accession of Mr. Cleveland there had been a growing demand that the small area of public lands remaining as the property of the nation should be saved as homes for actual settlers. Almost no steps had been taken, however, to wrest from the railroads vast tracts which, though granted, had not been earned. When the new administration came into office it found millions of acres tied up with claims made by railroads, and other millions illegally surrounded by fences for the purpose of furnishing pasture to the herds and flocks of cattle kings and ranchmen. The work of remov-

ing the fences from the public lands was taken up and prosecuted almost at the outset of the administration, and it was done with such energy that at the end of its second year there was very little cause for complaint of the existence of such abuses. They had been removed by the firm and vigorous policy adopted by Mr. Cleveland and his Secretary of the Interior.

But this was not all. The policy of declaring forfeit lands granted to railroads but never earned was taken up with such energy that, before the close of the third fiscal year of the administration, there had been restored to the public domain and for the use of actual settlers the following amounts in acres :

Lands in granted railroad limits	- - -	2,108,417.33
Forfeited by acts of congress	- - -	28,253,347.00
Railroad indemnity lands	- - - -	21,323,600.00
Private land claims and withdrawn lands	- - - - -	576,000.00
Entries under the law, canceled for various reasons	- - - - -	27,460,608.74
Invalid State selections (internal improvements and swamp lands)	- -	698,747.52
		<hr/>
Making the total number of acres restored to entry and settlement	-	80,420,720.59

Besides this vast area restored for the homes of actual settlers, more than sixty-five million acres were recommended for restoration or were in process of forfeiture at the close of the administration, making a grand total of nearly 146,000,000 acres, an area almost as large as that contained in all the New England and Middle States combined.

This was in no way the result of accident. Among the earliest acts of the President, as already narrated, was the proclamation warning ranchmen to remove fences from the public lands. Even earlier in his career, so early, indeed, as 1882, the convention that nominated him for Governor declared in its platform: "We also arraign the Republican party for its wholesale gifts to railroad jobbers, thus robbing the mass of the people of their rightful inheritance, and we demand that so far as possible these lands shall be reclaimed and reserved for occupation by actual settlers."

In his first annual message to congress the President reviewed briefly the origin of the public domain, and emphasized the

fact, often lost sight of, that the concessions of land were made originally by the States, and that they were "encumbered with no condition except that they should be held and used 'for the benefit of the United States.'"

He also insisted that the lands acquired by purchase with the public money all had attached to them the original trust "for the benefit of the United States." In his view, "the policy of many homes rather than large estates was adopted by the government" in the execution of this trust. He then declared that "it is not for the benefit of the United States that a large area of public land should be acquired, directly or through fraud, in the hands of a single individual. The nation's strength is in the people; the nation's prosperity is in their prosperity; the nation's glory is in the equality of her justice; the nation's perpetuity is in the patriotism of all her people. Hence, as far as practicable, the plan adopted in the disposal of the public lands should have in view the original policy, which encouraged many purchasers of

these lands for homes and discouraged the massing of large areas."

This policy was recurred to again and again in his annual messages; in instructions to the Secretary of the Interior and to the land offices; and in his last annual message he observed with pride, that "it is gratifying to know that something has been done to redress the injuries to our people and check the perilous tendency of the reckless grants of the national domain," and insisted that the remainder of our agricultural lands should be husbanded with the greatest care, and recommended the speedy enactment of measures of legislation to confine the remaining lands to the uses of "actual husbandry and genuine homes."

In none of the questions that came before him did the President show himself more deeply interested than in that of dealing with the Indian wards of the government. He believed in fair and kind but firm treatment and in the use of the civilizing influences of schools, missions, and farm machinery. Thus believing, he gave careful

attention to the question from the earliest days of his administration. The men chosen to carry out this policy were selected with care, and soon showed their fitness for the work in hand. This was demonstrated by a great increase in the acreage of land under cultivation by Indians, and in the fact that many new tribes and bands were added to those already engaged in this most civilizing work. Favoritism was practically abolished in the appointment of agents, clerks, farmers, and physicians, and the practice of making provision for the relatives of men already in the service was strictly forbidden.

All this was done at a marked decrease in cost, even when efficiency is taken into consideration. The decrease is so marked as to show the care given to the Indian question in every detail. For the three years 1882, 1883, 1884, the entire cost of the Indian service was \$19,519,613.06; the annual average for school expenses was \$383,008.29, and during this same time the annual average number of pupils in the Indian schools, on the reservations, and in

the training schools was 4561. During the three years 1886, 1887, 1888, the total cost of the Indian service was \$18,411,154.11, of which the annual average for school expenses was \$1,036,078.03, and the average number of pupils in all the schools was 10,523.

This was the natural result of a policy under which honesty and business principles were applied to the management of Indian affairs. This became so firmly fixed that it has been carried out, though with a considerable increase in cost. That the maintenance of the policy adopted during this period will finally do much to solve the problem which has heretofore presented so many difficulties cannot be doubted.

In each of his annual messages, beginning with the first, in December, 1885, and with the exception of the tariff-reform message of 1887—in which none of the detail work of the government was reviewed—the President expressed again and again his views upon the Indian question, and their publication as a chapter in a connected

form in his writings is almost as thorough a presentation of his views as if it had been written in the form of an essay for the purpose of setting forth his ideas. When he found misapprehensions among certain elements concerning the policy of the department he wrote letters explaining it, and in this way showed not only his interest in the subject, but the knowledge he had gained of it. At every opportunity he took occasion to congratulate the country upon the improvement in the condition of the Indian population, and in his closing message, in December, 1888, he declared that "the proofs multiply that the transforming change, so much to be desired, which shall substitute for barbarism education and civilizing sentiment, is in favorable progress."

For many years the Department of Agriculture had been one of the accepted jokes of the public service, but when Mr. Cleveland became President he selected for Commissioner of Agriculture a man long accustomed to the study not only of farming itself, but of the people who were en-

gaged in it. This gentleman, Norman J. Colman of Missouri, brought to the discharge of the duties of his office unusual fitness. He had been a practical farmer all his life, and in addition had for many years conducted one of the most successful weekly newspapers devoted to the farming interest. He was therefore at once able to take up the practical work.

He began by establishing close relations between the Department of Agriculture and the State agricultural colleges and the experiment stations endowed by congress. He succeeded in this by calling a conference of himself and his staff with the leading men of these institutions. At this meeting a policy was mapped out which had for its general purpose the pursuit of work on some system, the prevention of duplication, the exchange of the results of work, and the establishing of experiment stations in the different States and Territories. He began and carried out a careful investigation of adulterations and imitations. He adopted vigorous and successful measures to stamp out

the contagious diseases of cattle, and conducted a series of experiments with sorghum, which demonstrated the ability of the country to increase greatly its production of raw sugar.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WORK OF ADMINISTRATION (CONCLUDED)

WHILE the President kept himself in close and practical relation with the work of the departments, there were a great number of questions, to which he gave much time, by means of which he impressed himself strongly upon the country. One of the first to press for settlement was the confirmation of his appointments. In certain nominations the senate, led by George F. Edmunds, then, and for many years before, a senator from Vermont, undertook to assert the principles of the old Tenure of Office Act, which, as the President said with force in his message to the senate, had fallen into "innocuous desuetude."

This message was one of the most vig-

orous of his public utterances. In it he met the senate upon its own ground. He stated so succinctly the issue between the Executive and that body, and declared in such a decided way that he would not comply with its demand for the surrender of letters or documents of a private nature, in no sense official, that, after its receipt by the senate and the return of a formal answer, that body discovered that the sentiment of the country was strongly with the President, and the contest ended in his complete success. No further concerted effort was made to hamper the President on the question of appointments.

In the matter of pensions as affected by both general and private acts, the President took his own way. He insisted from the very beginning that the pension list should be made and kept "a roll of honor." With him assurance of merit on the part of the beneficiary and not the liberality of the government, which, because it was rich, could afford to be lavish, was the test; so he vetoed private pension bills to the number of about two hundred and fifty,

insisting that if the money of the government was to be paid out to the soldiers of our wars it should be done under general laws that would permit no favoritism and place the private soldier upon an equality with the officer, thus enabling a man without friends to command a pension as a right to himself and not as a favor from a government official or a political party.

He also vetoed the Dependent Pension bill because it made many of its beneficiaries objects of charity, and while showing a feeling of gratitude to the soldiers of the Union and manifesting a desire to promote their interests, he tried at every turn to protect them from their enemies, and, if need be, from themselves.

Nothing that he did has more thoroughly justified itself than Mr. Cleveland's pension policy. No man in the United States, who is both sensible and honest, ever believed or asserted that he was, or is, the enemy of the soldier. His actions as well as his words attest the falsity of such a charge. But he saw that the pension system had grown to be a

great abuse, and recognized, what is now almost universally admitted, that the bounty of the government had been conferred upon men who did not deserve or need it, and that the demand for further pension legislation, more than a quarter of a century after the close of the war, was largely artificial, the result of systematic agitation and organization by pension agents and attorneys.

He saw, too, that the whole system was put in peril by the magnitude of the abuses which were growing up about it. For this reason he insisted on making the pension list "a roll of honor," upon which might be found the names of those men who actually had won such recognition from a grateful people.

His course in the matter of civil-service reform does not need to be set forth at length. He came into office under most difficult conditions so far as this important problem was concerned. For a quarter of a century, the offices had been filled by the merciless application of the spoils system. No man not a member of the major-

ity party had a chance to obtain any important employment in the public service. In 1882 the demand for the enactment of a civil service law had become so positive that a compromise measure, unsatisfactory to the advocates of the principle, was extorted from an unwilling congress. This law had been in operation a little less than two years when Mr. Cleveland came into office.

Mr. Cleveland found the civil service with less than fourteen thousand employees resting under the protection of the new law, 90 per cent. of whom had probably been appointed originally as a reward for political services, and had become part of the new system when the civil service law was enacted. When Mr. Cleveland left office, more than twenty-seven thousand persons were included within the provisions of the classified service. With the exception of those appointed to fill vacancies caused by death, resignation, reduction of force, and one or two removals for cause, he kept about him in the Executive Mansion the men he had found there.

The messengers who answered his calls and those of his secretary during the entire period of four years, the executive clerks, the personal correspondence clerk, and nearly all the men about him, with the exceptions noted, had entered the service under his predecessor.

He went on with this work so constantly and consistently that if history is honestly written it will be recorded that the merit system owes more to Grover Cleveland for giving it a fair trial by extending its operations into many different departments, and by permitting many men unused to public work to find opportunities to do it, than to any other man or to any other influence.

No act of Mr. Cleveland's during his administration was more popular than his marriage, on June 2, 1886, to Miss Frances Folsom of Buffalo. This introduced into social life a woman who, though young, never made a mistake in her dealings with her countrymen. Beautiful in character as in person ; domestic in her tastes ; devoted to her husband, she has shown at every

step of his career and her own the capabilities of American womanhood. Mr. Cleveland's domestic life has been as happy as it could be, and the example he and his wife have set cannot be too highly commended. They have lived in a plain, simple manner, going about their own concerns in their own way, as far as the public would permit, and neither has shown the least tendency to vanity or display.

During the years 1886 and 1887 the President traveled in every part of the country. On September 30, 1887, he left Washington on a train of well appointed palace cars, furnished with all the comforts of travel, accompanied by his wife, his secretary, and a few political and personal friends. They traveled through the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and made their first stop in the city of Indianapolis, where they were greeted with the warmest manifestations of interest. The same scenes of enthusiasm and hospitality were witnessed in Chicago, Milwaukee, Madison, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Omaha, Kansas City,

St. Louis, Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga, Atlanta, and Montgomery, the President returning direct to his home from the last named point. All along the route chosen for this extensive journey the same interest was shown in the person, character, and position of the President. He was met everywhere by delegations, and when time permitted, the President generally made a speech, always aptly worded, as was his wont, and received all who came to see him, whether rich or poor, white or black.

In few of these did he refer in any way to politics or public questions, but in Montgomery, Ala., he departed from this rule somewhat. His trip was then practically over, and he had seen in the South everywhere the signs of a restored Union, and recognized even more emphatically than he had done during all his career that sectionalism was no longer a part of the life in that region. So he said :

“ Your fellow-countrymen appreciate the value of intimate and profitable business relations with you, and there need be no fear

that they will permit them to be destroyed or endangered by designing demagogues. The wickedness of those partisans who seek to aid their ambitious schemes by engendering hate among a generous people is fast meeting exposure; and yet there is and should be an insistence upon a strict adherence to the settlement which has been made of disputed questions, and upon the unreserved acceptance of such settlement. As against this, I believe no business considerations should prevail, and I firmly believe that there is American fairness enough abroad in the land to insure a proper and substantial recognition of the good faith which you have exhibited."

The bearing of the President on this extended journey, the ease and dignity with which he met his countrymen, the interest he manifested in local development everywhere, the impressions that he brought back with him of a restored and united country, did much to promote the popular sentiment not only in behalf of unsectional politics but to increase his personal popularity.

The President was also a conspicuous figure at the centennial of the adoption of the Constitution in Philadelphia, in Sep-

tember, 1887, and while there made several appropriate speeches in a single day. He manifested much interest in the evidences of the industrial progress made by our people, and in all the varied elements that served to mark the difference between that time and the century before when the Constitution had been adopted by the convention in session in that city.

No President in all our history has used the veto power so freely as did Mr. Cleveland. This was done not merely from any desire to use this Constitutional right, but to assert in the most effective way his belief in certain principles, to protect the Treasury from spoliation, and to do what he could to direct legislation in the proper channels. Mention has already been made of his pension vetoes. These asserted the supremacy in his own mind of his idea of what the pension list ought to be, and his purpose to protest, as he thought he ought, against a prevailing tendency, and, last and not least, to prevent the misappropriation of government money.

The same principles were applied in his

veto of the bills appropriating money for the erection of public buildings. For many years there had been an epidemic of this class of legislation, which had grown to such proportions that it was really a serious abuse. The people of nearly every large town, encouraged by the success of places only a little larger, pushed their claims for Federal buildings. It made little difference whether these were needed or not, if, by the combination of one set of members of congress with another, an agreement could be reached by which a union of all the votes could be had for the purpose of voting these appropriations. Mr. Cleveland ruthlessly vetoed such legislation from the very beginning, signing only a few bills of this character during his whole term. In doing so, however, he always gave his reasons with the utmost fullness, going carefully into the history of the appropriation, the methods pursued to get it, examining the condition of the town, referring many times to the census reports to find out its population, and obtaining information from postmasters and

other officials as to the real needs of the locality. Then a brief veto would be written, and in spite of the log-rolling system, which had been so successfully conducted, no public building bill was passed over his protest.

He also used the veto power on bills of doubtful constitutionality. Thus, during his administration, a drought visited certain portions of Texas, and a successful appeal was made to congress for the passage of a bill appropriating \$10,000 for seed. This he vetoed, and in his message laid down the epigrammatic principle that though "the people support the government, the government should not support the people."

The last important act of his official career was his veto of the Direct Tax bill, a measure to refund to the States nearly \$20,000,000 of what was known as the Direct Tax, levied and paid at the beginning of the Civil War. The passage of such a law had been agitated for many years, but was only successful in the closing days of the Fiftieth Congress.

Mr. Cleveland reviewed the case with great directness and ability, and this last official communication to congress is one of the most vigorous of those that he sent to it.

He did all this extra work with his usual care. Every bill vetoed was examined carefully by himself after he had obtained from the departments, and the friends of the measure itself, such information as he could get; then he would go carefully over every point of it, always working into the early morning hours in order to accomplish this self-imposed task. A President less conscientious would have permitted much of this legislation to go through and have thrown the responsibility upon congress. But this did not accord with his conception of the scope of his duties, so he persisted in his work, with the result that his protest, though unheeded perhaps at the time, and in spite of the fact that many of these offensive bills have been since passed into law, had the effect of directing attention to political abuses, not only in Federal, but

in State legislation. All this contributed to arouse the moral sentiment of the country, which in the end is sure to assert itself.

Mr. Cleveland made speeches on many questions during his term of office, more, perhaps, than all his predecessors together. They were on all manner of questions, and related to almost every element in our population. Everyone was short, pointed, and bright, and each showed the highest regard for the dignity of his office, a close and intimate knowledge of the question discussed, a willingness to aid every good cause, and all were thoroughly democratic in tone and matter. He thereby put himself in close relations with the people, never shirking any physical exertion necessary to go through a reception, or to do on such occasions what was deemed best by his friends and countrymen. Perhaps no man ever submitted to such an ordeal with a better grace.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TARIFF-REFORM MESSAGE.

THE most important policy announced and advocated by Mr. Cleveland during his term as President was that of tariff reform. The discussion of the message in which this was enunciated and emphasized has been so long continued and has become so universal that it is scarcely necessary to refer to it at length.

In his first message in 1885 he made a brief reference to the condition of our revenue laws, and insisted, with emphasis, that a revision ought to be effected; that the surplus then being heaped up in the Treasury was a serious danger. He believed then that it could only be met by a proper revision of the laws, and so asserted. It was, however, merely a paragraph in a message, and, being his first official reference to the question, it did not attract the attention that was afterward given it, when he put forth his ideas in a much more emphatic way.

In 1886 he devoted still more attention to this question, giving to it a greater proportion of his annual review of the condition of the government than had been done for many years before. He never wrote anything stronger or more pertinent, or anything that better showed his deep knowledge of the question and his thorough conception of the dangers that were involved in the perpetuation of war taxes in time of peace. But even this did not attract wide attention to the question.

During the spring and summer of 1887 the condition of the Treasury, by reason of the rapid increase of the surplus, became a menace to the prosperity and the financial stability of the country. With the exception of his Secretary of the Treasury no man knew it so well as the President. The duty of providing some way of escape from the difficulties which surrounded the country was incumbent upon them. They did this work, and in doing it the President, in daily dread of commercial disaster, was led to consider, with more care than ever before, the ways and means necessary

for removing the cause of such a disturbance. As a result he saw no other way than to reduce the exorbitant and unnecessary taxes the imposition of which had brought about this condition of financial plethora.

His annual message of 1887, devoted entirely to the revenue system of the country, naturally followed. For the first time since the war public attention was attracted to financial questions with a directness that could not be challenged. The knowledge of the question shown in the message, the courage that prompted it, the patriotism that stood forth in every line—all these appealed in a surprising way to the conscience as well as to the pockets of the people. At once there came a realizing sense of the dangers with which we were threatened, and in spite of the fact that at the succeeding election the majority of the electoral votes was not cast for the man who had written this message and emphasized this issue, the sentiment of the country was shown by the fact that a decided popular majority was cast in its favor.

It would be difficult to overestimate the effect of this message. For one thing it took politics out of the ruts into which it had fallen, and gave the country something real, over which its voters might divide. It showed that so far as Mr. Cleveland was concerned, the war, glorious memory though it was, should not be permitted to fasten upon the country permanently a system of taxation which had been devised merely for the purpose of meeting an imperious and temporary necessity. Then, too, it gave fiscal questions a different standing. Complaint was no longer made that a speech on the tariff was dull, or that an exposition on the financial condition of the country was of necessity stupid. In spite of the result of the election in 1888, and whatever may be the result of that of 1892 or any other that may follow, the good effects of the message of 1887 cannot be overestimated.

Probably no document of the same length ever had so wide a reading in the same space of time as this message. It did not say anything new, but the man

who wrote it had the courage to see the peril into which the country had been drawn by adherence to a dangerous policy, and, seeing this, he was willing to stake his political fortunes upon the correction of these wrongs.

It would, however, be a mistake to look upon this message as nothing more than a discussion of the tariff question. It was truly this, and as such it was most intelligent and effective ; but its influence upon political discussion bids fair to be so far-reaching that, in the end, it will insure not only a change from a bad to a sound and sensible fiscal system, but the practical regeneration of our politics.

When the movement resulting from it is carried to its logical conclusions, it means that selfishness shall not add the power of government to the force that it already possesses. That message reorganized and rejuvenated one political party. In the course of time, it will have the same effect on all parties, however great or small they may be, and on all sections or movements that may be organized for the next quarter

of a century. Nominally, the man who wrote it and brought this moral force into politics was defeated for re-election, but in reality he was the most successful public man known to our history. The seeming defeat of that day was not a defeat at all; it was a victory for moral principles in politics and for a man who was ready to do whatever lay in his power for those principles. It put new life into political discussion, and took the country out and far away from the old and sectional questions that should have been dropped long before, and brought to the front new problems of every kind.

Mr. Cleveland has sometimes been criticised for having delayed this message. But nothing is clearer now than that the message was timely, because it was necessary, and that this necessity did not make itself absolutely apparent until the period mentioned. The condition of things was bad in 1885 and 1886, but there was little then to indicate that the evils from which the country was suffering were the result of one serious abuse. Then, too,

there were many other things to do besides reforming the tariff. The principles of one great party had been excluded from consideration for twenty-five years. It was necessary to reassert these before the country could be aroused upon a great fiscal question, to which, however great or important it may be, it is always difficult to attract universal attention. The President was engaged during all these years in choosing men who should assert these principles. He had very little time to study this question in all its bearings. That he had an intelligent appreciation of it was shown from the days of the Newark speech in 1884.

His personal relations to the question were, however, well illustrated by an incident early in his career as President. During these early days he talked with Speaker (now Senator) John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, on this issue. It was only natural that such a man as Mr. Carlisle, who had given so much attention to the question of taxation, should desire to impress his views strongly upon the Presi-

dent. In reply the latter said, in substance, that he had had little opportunity to give the matter careful study, but that his views were in accord with the position his party had assumed on the question of revenues. He did not believe in using the power of the government to help individuals or interests, but averred that he had never had a chance to give it the thought it ought to have or that he intended to give it.

As the administration went on, his attention was attracted to it, so that in 1887 he was able to make the study necessary to write the historic message of that year. He no doubt felt that in addition to his own desire on this matter, a position reached after long consideration, he was almost driven to it by public necessity. Then came that wonderful document, which, slowly elaborated in his own mind, so far as the details were concerned, was not given to the public until after consultation with the men entitled to know about it. From that time forward nobody had any reason to complain that Grover Cleveland did not know something about the tariff

question, and that he was not interested in it.

Apropos of this, the result of another interview with Mr. Carlisle may properly be narrated. Just before the meeting of congress in December, 1888, after the election, Mr. Cleveland sent for the Speaker of the House to consult with him about the tariff portion of his message. Before beginning the conversation, as has been narrated by the ex-Speaker himself, the President said :

“I have asked you to call and see me, Mr. Speaker, in order that I may get your views about that portion of my message which deals with the tariff question. You know that I have always been willing and anxious to consult the wishes of the leaders of my party on every public question ; that I have tried to show that deference to their wishes that their position demanded, and so far as it was consonant with the interests of the country, but I want to tell you now that if every other man in the country abandons this issue I shall stick to it.”

Certainly nobody could complain that progress in knowledge between the time of these two interviews had not been rapid.

It has been asserted many times that Mr. Cleveland was defeated because of the question of 1887, and that he deliberately threw away the Presidency for this idea, when, if he had enunciated the message the year before, or left it until a year later, he might have been re-elected. That the message of 1887 enabled his opponents to raise a large corruption fund is, no doubt, true; but if that message had not been sent to congress—if the country had been permitted to drift, perhaps the opposing party could not have raised so much money. But it could have raised enough for its purposes if an election was to be won by corrupt methods. The message of 1886 was positive enough on this question, and would have enabled the opposing party to raise, if not so much, at least enough to bring about the apparently inauspicious result that followed.

Whatever effect it may have had upon his personal fortunes, nothing in the history of the country has had such a good effect upon a political party as did this message upon that of which Mr. Cleveland

was and has been for many years the leader; so that it would have made very little difference whether the party had gone out of power in four years or in eight, if it had no principles at the end of either or in the interim. Mr. Cleveland gave it these, or rather from his lofty position he reasserted them with such emphasis that nothing can now stop the progress of the ideas that he then enunciated until they shall have been successful.

CHAPTER XIII.

CANVASS OF 1888 AND RETIREMENT.

MR. CLEVELAND was renominated by the convention of his party at St. Louis in June, 1888, without a dissenting vote. He would not permit any of the Federal officeholders to take part either in the preliminary proceedings or in those of the convention itself. Every State in the Union instructed its delegates to vote for him.

The campaign which resulted from this was a bitter and unrelenting one on the part of the Republicans. They had known

for four years what it was to be in the minority. They had also felt what it was to have a President of the United States who represented the reverse of everything that they themselves had emphasized during the latter stages of the history of their party. So they attempted to make use of the tariff-reform message of the previous year to raise the usual scare about the reduction of wages of workingmen. In this they had little success, but as the canvass progressed it became apparent that there was not enough time to reach the farming population of the country and to instruct them fully in the meaning of tariff reform. The desperation of Republican partisans and the interests of certain classes of manufacturers enabled the managers to raise large sums of money, which were used corruptly and with much effect in several of the close States. In this way the vote of Indiana was carried, and in the same way the State of New York gave its electoral vote to Mr. Harrison by a small majority. Probably at no time in our history has there been such a carnival of corruption as

was seen at that time. The success achieved was, however, comparatively small so far as public sentiment was concerned, as the party successful in the electoral college was unable to command a majority of the votes of the United States. While Mr. Harrison carried twenty States with 233 electoral votes and Mr. Cleveland eighteen States with 168 electoral votes, Mr. Cleveland received 5,538,233 votes, while Mr. Harrison received 5,440,216.

Mr. Cleveland did not indulge in any wailing or repining over the result of the election. Personally it was no disappointment. He had had a thorough trial of the labor and difficulties attending his high office. He felt, as perhaps no man in recent times has felt, the gigantic responsibilities of the office. He did not change his method of transacting public business. He gave the same careful attention to details and still showed the same positiveness which he exhibited from the beginning of his public career. He vetoed bills that did not conform to his standard, and in many respects did some of the best work of his

entire administration during the four months intervening between the election and the inauguration of his successor.

In the mean time he began to make preparations for a return to the practice of his profession, and made arrangements to enter into partnership with Bangs, Stetson, Tracy & MacVeagh in New York. For almost the first time in our recent history, the defeat of a candidate for President did not have the effect of directing public attention away from him and toward his successor. In fact, more than ever the public heart seemed to turn to him, and he was probably more popular on the day after his defeat and in spite of it than he was the day that he was renominated by acclamation in the National Convention of his own party.

Immediately after the inauguration of his successor, Mr. Cleveland came to New York, and, after remaining for a little time at his hotel in order to make the necessary preparations, settled down at No. 816 Madison Avenue. From the beginning the greatest interest was manifested in his

movements. He commanded as much attention as he had when President, and it was soon to be demonstrated that on ceremonial occasions, when both were participants, he was shown more respect than his successful rival for President of the United States. He was received into fellowship by the members of his profession in New York, with many of whom he had come into contact during the days of his practice in Buffalo and in the State courts. With many others he had been thrown into relations during the six busy years of high political office. He had challenged the highest respect from these men, and it was only natural that the leaders of the bar of New York should feel it incumbent upon them to welcome to his new residence the man who had brought so much honor to them and to their calling.

He declined nearly all invitations from political organizations, especially from those non-partisan in their character. He no doubt saw clearly that if he permitted himself to receive attentions from one organization, he would find it impossible

to draw the line when others might seek to render him the same honor. So he accepted only a single invitation, and made but one speech in response to the welcome extended to him. It was especially proper that this should be given him by a club or organization representing his own party. So on the 27th of April, after his removal to New York, he made a speech before the Democratic Club of the city of New York, in which he reviewed briefly the principles upon which he had conducted himself during his political career, then temporarily closed. He asserted that he had been honored by his party far beyond his deserts, and declared that no man could deserve its highest honors. But he said: "After six years of public service, I return to you, my party friends. Six years have I stood as your representative in the State and nation, and now I return again to the ranks, more convinced than ever that the success of true Democracy is the cause of the people—their safeguard and their hope." He also declared that he came without excuses or apologies, and with

no conviction of disloyalty. He reviewed the work done by his party, as usual taking for himself only a modest share. He insisted that as the party had rehabilitated itself as a party of principles that it should continue its work in the same way, and renew its fealty to the Constitution and to the interests of the people.

In this speech he made one of the strongest declarations of his whole life, expressive of the exalted idea that he had of party usefulness and of the necessity of a continual devotion to the public interests. He said: "We know that we have espoused the cause of right and justice. We know that we have not permitted duty to country to wait upon expediency. We know that we have not trafficked our principles for success. We know that we have not deceived the people with false promises and pretenses; and we know that we have not corrupted or betrayed the poor with the money of the rich."

This sentence has been repeated again and again. It has been made the text of great political organizations working in-

side the Democratic party and devoted to its ideas and purposes. To it Mr. Cleveland owes much of the new position that came to him in his own party after he left the Presidency. As usual, he admonished his hearers to remain steadfast to the Democratic faith and to the cause of the country, and insisted that if they were true and loyal to these, "the day of triumph would surely and quickly come, and the victory be nobly and fairly won through the invincible spirit of true Democracy."

His first appearance on a popular occasion after his retirement from the Presidency was at the Washington inauguration Centennial in New York on April 30 of the same year. Few pageants more magnificent have been seen in this country than those that occupied the attention of the people of that great city, and of their guests, during the three days of the Centennial celebrating Washington's inauguration.

But they were more than this, as they showed how a man who had done unselfish and patriotic service could be received and appreciated by his countrymen. Where-

ever he appeared he was received with the liveliest manifestations of delight and enthusiasm; and when he responded to a toast at the banquet which concluded the ceremonies there was no longer any doubt about his position in the hearts of his countrymen.

He made only a few speeches during the summer, which he devoted to getting as much rest as possible. After the long period of hard work this was most grateful. But on December 12, 1889, he made what it is fair to call the greatest speech of his life up to and including that time. This was delivered in Boston before the Merchants' Association of that city—a body without partisan leanings or affiliations. He chose for his subject "Political Selfishness and its Antidotes," and in it he took occasion to discuss on the most elevated plane all the questions of the day then pressing for settlement. He emphasized at considerable length the responsibility of business men to the country, and reminded them that perhaps the older merchants, their predecessors in the commercial

organizations of Boston, had not been led to depend upon the bounty or the liberality of the government for the favor which they deemed it but right and proper they should win for themselves. He referred briefly to fiscal questions, and insisted that the revenues of the country should be levied and collected only because the money resulting therefrom was needed to defray the public expenses.

He dwelt with much plainness upon the political corruption of the time, and reprobated with severity the purchase of votes by political managers or parties, as well as their sale by the individual voter. As a natural result from this, he advocated with enthusiasm the enactment of laws looking to a secret ballot, and it is due no doubt quite as much to his honest and open advocacy of this idea as to the popular conception of the magnitude of the evils involved that nearly two-thirds of the States of the American Union have since that time passed laws looking to a reform of the ballot. In advocating this idea, he declared: "There are no leaders in

this cause. Those who seem to lead the movement are but swept to the front by the surging force of patriotic sentiment. It rises far above partisanship, and only the heedless, the sordid, and the depraved refuse to join in the crusade." He insisted, too, that this reform was "predicated upon the cool deliberation of political selfishness in its endeavor to prostitute our suffrage to the purposes of private gain." As the advocacy of this had the natural effect already noted of arousing public sentiment to the magnitude of the evil with which it had to deal, so in the same speech he declared anew his devotion to the cause of civil service reform, and went so far as to say that "it is to-day our greatest safeguard against the complete and disgraceful degradation of our public service."

In spite of the fact that the speaker was so well known throughout the country, and so popular with every element of his fellow-citizens, this speech had almost an electrical effect. It showed the country that it had to deal with no ordinary man, and that it made but little difference

whether he was President of the United States or in private life. In the latter he felt the responsibility of citizenship as in the former he had felt the responsibility of an official. This speech showed, too, a great advance in many respects over any previously made.

It was the longest political speech of his entire career up to that time, and yet it was brief enough to find universal publication, and to be read at every fireside in the land. If he had not occupied a unique position among his countrymen, this speech of itself would have given it to him, and I think I hazard nothing in asserting that, more than anything else, it created the public sentiment that demanded his renomination, a demand which from that time became resistless. It mattered little thereafter what political managers might do. It mattered little what plans the manipulators of political caucuses might attempt to carry out. The sentiment of the American people was behind Grover Cleveland, and it predetermined the action of his party. From that time forward he

made many speeches, and it was soon plain that here was a man who was not confined to a single idea, but one whose lofty ideas were not expressed merely for selfish purposes, and who could see beyond primaries and elections.

In November, 1890, he made a notable speech at the banquet given in Columbus, O., to Allen G. Thurman, on his seventy-seventh birthday. This was indeed the first partisan speech he made since the welcome that had been extended to him by the Democratic Club. He followed this up by another party speech, or rather one reviewing the tariff agitation, delivered before the Reform Club of New York, during Christmas week of 1890. So, too, he went to Philadelphia and made a speech on Jackson day, January 8, 1891.

It is not my purpose, however, to review in detail the various speeches that Mr. Cleveland has made. Those carefully prepared, from March 4, 1889, to his nomination for the third time by his party on June 23, 1892, amount to about forty. Many were delivered before political

organizations of one kind and another. He showed the greatest willingness to do whatever lay in his power to promote every good object. By this time he had become known as the most successful of after-dinner speakers, and the demands made upon his time were greater perhaps than upon any of his contemporaries.

During the campaign of 1891 he made four political speeches, two in his own city of New York, one in Brooklyn, and one in Boston, advocating the re-election of William E. Russell as Governor of Massachusetts. But a partisan speech of Mr. Cleveland's is not so different from his usual addresses as is the case with most men. He does not take merely a partisan view of political questions, so that he rises to the same lofty plane when he is addressing himself to a gathering of his own political friends as he does when he is speaking to an audience made up of all the elements of his countrymen.

Perhaps his most notable speech during the past year was that delivered before the students of the University of Michigan at

Ann Harbor on Washington's Birthday, February 22, of the present year. He took for his topic "Sentiment in our National Life," and treated it with such cogency and from such a lofty point of view, that he really gave to a subject long since hackneyed a vigor and an interest that are rare. There are passages in it that would make the fortune of even the greatest of our public speakers. After reviewing the elements that enter into American sentiment, and insisting that they should be deeply imbedded in the minds and hearts of his countrymen, and after insisting, too, that we cannot outgrow dependence upon sentiment, nor reach a stage of our national development when it will be less important than now, he emphasized his position in these notable utterances :

"I beg you, therefore, to take with you when you go forth to assume the obligations of American citizenship, as one of the best gifts of your Alma Mater, a strong and abiding faith in the value and potency of a good conscience and a pure heart. Never yield one iota to those who teach that these are weak and childish things, not needed in the struggle of manhood with the stern

realities of life. Interest yourself in public affairs as a duty of citizenship, but do not surrender your faith to those who discredit and debase politics by scoffing at sentiment and principle, and whose political activity consists in attempts to gain popular support by cunning devices and shrewd manipulation.

“You will find plenty of these who will smile at your profession of faith, and tell you that truth and virtue and honesty and goodness were well enough in the old days when Washington lived, but are not suited to the present size and development of our country and the progress we have made in the art of political management. Be steadfast. The strong and sturdy oak still needs the support of its native earth, and, as it grows in size and spreading branches, its roots must strike deeper in the soil which warmed and fed its first tender sprout. You will be told that the people have no longer any desire for the things you profess. Be not deceived. The people are not dead, but sleeping. They will awaken in good time, and scourge the money-changers from their sacred temple.

“You may be chosen to public office. Do not shrink from it, for holding office is also a duty of citizenship. But do not leave your faith behind you. Every public office, small or great, is held in trust for your fellow-citizens. They differ in importance, in responsibility, and in the labor they impose ; but the duties of none of them can be well

performed if the mentorship of a good conscience and pure heart be discarded. Of course other equipment is necessary, but without this mentorship all else is insufficient. In times of gravest responsibility it will solve your difficulties ; in the most trying hour it will lead you out of perplexities, and it will, at all times, deliver you from temptation."

Such a declaration rings out like a clarion, and reduces the wonder sometimes expressed that this man has gained such a hold upon the affection of his people. Perhaps nothing could explain it better than these few crisp sentences. They constitute a confession of political faith that any man might well be proud to make, and it is evident that his countrymen looked upon them and like utterances as merely the logical results of a strong character, which made him notable in the history of his time.

But it was not merely in the making of speeches that Mr. Cleveland appeared before the public from time to time. Perhaps no man in our recent history has had such an opportunity to study the sentiment of the American people as Mr. Cleve-

land had after his retirement from the Presidency. Day after day, week after week, letters poured in upon him from every quarter. There is scarcely a county in the nation in which some one, recognizing the loftiness of his character, and perhaps the need of his advice on a public question, has not written to tell him perhaps of some political vagary; to give warning of some demagogue whose head had just appeared above the surface; or to tell him of some new figure, a man of character, conscience, and ability who was beginning to make himself felt in a given neighborhood. The number of these answered with his own hand in those busy days was unprecedented. Some have been printed, though not one by himself. He kept no copies of them, and gave almost no heed to what he had said in them. And yet he seldom repeated himself when writing again upon the same general question. Many were written to organizations of one kind or another, political clubs, church socials, or meetings to agitate some reform.

Perhaps the most notable letter written during this period was that bearing date February 10, 1891, to the meeting called by the Reform Club to express the opposition of the business men of New York to the free coinage of silver. Mr. Cleveland's views were well known. There was no reason why he should be invited to write such a letter, or why, being invited, he should accept. Nobody had a right to assume that he had changed or modified his opinions on the subject. But he was not accustomed to dodge and so he wrote a letter of about one hundred and sixty words, that has had perhaps a greater effect upon the discussion of financial questions than any document of a like length ever prepared or published. Justly assuming that nobody had a right to criticise his attitude on the question, he said :

“ I have this afternoon received your note inviting me to attend to-morrow evening the meeting called for the purpose of voicing the opposition of the business men of our city to ‘the free coinage of silver in the United States.’

“I shall not be able to attend and address the meeting as you request, but I am glad that the business interests of New York are at last to be heard on this subject. It surely cannot be necessary for me to make a formal expression of my agreement with those who believe that the greatest peril would be invited by the adoption of the scheme embraced in the measure now pending in congress for the unlimited coinage of silver at our mints.

“If we have developed an unexpected capacity for the assimilation of a largely increased volume of this currency, and even if we have demonstrated the usefulness of such an increase, these conditions fall far short of insuring us against disaster, if, in the present situation, we enter upon the dangerous and reckless experiment of free, unlimited, and independent silver coinage.”

There can be no doubt that this letter changed the course of public sentiment, and that it will scarcely fail to change the course of history itself. The service thereby rendered cannot be computed. And yet it could not have been written with any intention to mold public sentiment in his favor. It was not needed for that, perhaps, any more than the tariff-reform message of 1887 was needed for the

purpose of securing a renomination. But it was written, as was the message, because he believed that he was right, and that, being right, he should say so.

During the first summer after the close of his administration Mr. Cleveland spent a considerable portion of his time in Massachusetts on the shores of Buzzard's Bay. He was attracted by the surroundings. He liked the comparative retirement it gave him, and enjoyed the amusements it furnished. So, in 1890, he bought a place of nearly a hundred acres near the head of Buzzard's Bay and remodeled the house to make for himself a summer home. This is the only house he owns, and he spends his summers there in as much retirement as the curiosity of his countrymen and the visits of his friends permit him to command. There he is able to indulge his domestic tastes, and to live a quiet, simple life with his family. There he would have been more content to spend his leisure days than to be drawn again into the arena of politics. But if fate decides otherwise, and he finds that he must again

become a resident of the Executive Mansion, he will accept that verdict with as much composure as he would any other call to work or duty.

On July 25, 1891, after he had become fairly settled in his home at Gray Gables, a short distance from the town of Buzzard's Bay and from the Cape Cod branch of the Old Colony Railroad, the citizens of Barnstable County gave a reception, at which he was formally inducted into a summer citizenship of Massachusetts. No occasion like this has perhaps ever been seen before, and it is doubtful if the conditions will ever be such as to make its repetition possible. From every quarter of Massachusetts men, women, and children came to take part in the proceedings held in the town of Sandwich. Men of all parties and no party united, and it seemed that each vied with the other to be more enthusiastic than his neighbor.

Mr. Cleveland's relations to the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1892 are well known. At no time in his career has he ever sought an office, and he

certainly did not do so after his retirement from the Presidency. No man felt more keenly than he the responsibilities of that high place. He had no personal desire to be nominated again, and it was only his willingness to do a patriotic service when he was called upon that induced him to accept a third nomination.

The sentiment in his party, the country over, was overwhelming in demanding that he should again make the race. This manifested itself between the day of his defeat and that of the inauguration of his successor. It grew stronger day by day and year by year. At first many, both friendly and opposed, thought that there would soon come a change in the situation, but the one change that came was a strengthened and aroused demand that he should be chosen as the leader of his party. Finally, it was as evident at the beginning of the present year, as any future event could be, and especially after the delivery of the Ann Arbor address, on the 22d of February, that his party would demand his nomination at the hands of the

members of its convention and an acceptance from him. As has already been said, he did nothing to promote it. He organized no machine, he had no literary bureau, while in many of the States the leading politicians and managers were arrayed against him; but party sentiment was so strong that the convention nominated him on the first ballot by more than the necessary two-thirds vote.

CHAPTER XIV.

A GENERAL ESTIMATE OF CHARACTER.

I HAVE thus endeavored fairly to set forth the main features of Grover Cleveland's career. I have not thought it either fitting or necessary, in the brief space at my command, to go into all the details of the minor events of his life. It has seemed to me necessary, for the purposes of this study, to set forth as fully as possible those important things which together constitute what may be termed his public career. It is nothing but the story of a man who has won his way from humble

beginnings with honest, self-respecting, industrious people, to the highest honors.

The achievements of such a man constitute in and of themselves his character sketch. If we find that he has been industrious, honest, persistent, fair to friend and opponent, these qualities will bear themselves in upon the mind of the reader, if the writer has made himself clear in setting forth the things that the man has been able to do by reason of having them.

Then, too, a good many difficulties arise in making anything like a careful estimate of such a man. Here is one who for more than ten years has been in the fullest blaze of publicity, none of it self-sought. Before his career became of the highest interest to his countrymen he had employed none of the ordinary methods to bring himself into notice. When nominated for Governor he had no self-prepared biographies, he had no literary bureaus, and had indeed made few speeches that had been published. While much interest attaches to the career of a man of this kind—more, indeed, than

if he had come up in the usual way, through a city, a State, or a Federal office—one writes at all times with the knowledge that for many years all his countrymen have had an opportunity to analyze his character. But though he did not gain this faculty for work in the lower grades of the public service, he had it when first called to the least important office that he had held, in which he demonstrated that he possessed the same qualities since shown in a higher office. It was merely a transfer from one place to another, a great responsibility so far as the public was concerned, but none the larger so far as the habits and thoughts and moral character of the man himself were involved.

Then, too, there is the difficulty of making a final estimate of a man with a career like this, who may have a future still greater than his past. One might with safety make predictions concerning such a man—that he would be found always and ever doing his work with perfect faithfulness—and yet the opportunity might come within the briefest time for a work, the

greatness of which would surpass all that he had ever done. But I do not perceive that it is my duty to indulge in prophecies. I have tried in the preceding chapters to tell what the man has done. I shall now attempt to explain in some measure why, in my opinion, he has done these things—to set forth in the space that remains to me some of my own ideas as to the faculties that have made him what he is and that have given him a great and recognized place among his countrymen.

In the first place Grover Cleveland has always been a hard, systematic worker—one who does not have to wait for moods. When he feels that a thing must be done and that he is the man to do it, he does not hesitate about it; he does it. Whether it be the preparation of a case for court, the making of an argument, the preparation of a speech on a social or political question, the dispatch of a great mass of public business—he does not wait for to-morrow to do what ought to be done to-day. His “ought” means “must.” It was almost a natural result when such

a man found he had a great mass of work to do, that he should steal time from sleep and recreation to do it; so he early formed the habit of annexing a great part of the night to the day. When he was an assistant District Attorney, he sat down after hours to draw indictments and prepare cases against the meeting of the court the next morning. When he was a lawyer in full practice, he deemed that he owed a duty to his clients that could only be performed by applying to it the same habits of faithful and continued effort. This has enabled him to do practically the work of two men. Probably if he could have seen his way to it, he would have enjoyed leisure just as other men do, but he has not felt that he could get it.

When he became Mayor, he assumed a great responsibility to a large number of his fellowmen. No man could hope to carry on his ordinary employments and then to serve the public with such acceptance as Mr. Cleveland did while Mayor, without giving a great deal of time to his duties—more time, in fact, than the day-

light hours could possibly afford. When he became Governor, he felt that a still greater responsibility was laid upon him. If he felt that he did not know how to do a thing, he never came to feel that he could not learn how to do it, and that to his own satisfaction and acceptance to the people who had trusted him. While Governor, he was in his office night after night considering pardon cases, bills sent to him from the legislature, and 'all the varied affairs that pertain to an executive office. Nothing was shirked. If it was necessary to see a number of people, many of them without real business, he would see them, just as he would shut himself up for hours and consider with the utmost care some legislative measure involving the highest principles of law or the interpretation of the Constitution, or the interests of the masses of his constituents.

When he went into the Presidency, where the demands upon him were still greater—in spite of the fact that he had there a Cabinet that considered and adjudicated the great mass of public business—

he found again that he was the responsible official, and that many questions must be considered entirely by himself, and a conclusion reached upon them according to his best judgment. Here he gave still more time to his work—probably an average of at least sixteen hours a day during the entire four years, with only the rest he must take.

In this great office, as in other work that had come to him, no detail was too small to engage his attention if he thought that the question at issue demanded or deserved it; in truth, a question that many men in such an office would pass over by accepting, without question, the opinion of a clerk or of a Cabinet officer, seemed to him as urgent as some great policy of administration might be. He knew that the big things would, in some way, take care of themselves, while in many cases the little ones must have his thought or they might be entirely neglected. Many a convict owes his pardon to the careful study of his case made by the President of the United States in the early hours of the morning

when his fellow-citizens were enjoying their slumbers. So, too, many a man with a bad claim, which he had pushed through the departments and courts, and finally through congress, found his way to the Treasury blocked because the President of the United States had deemed it his duty to sit up until two o'clock in the morning to do it.

This facility for work and willingness to do it, his almost impatient desire to know the ins and outs of every question upon which he must decide, have made his work far more difficult to him than to the ordinary man occupying any similar position. Reference has been made both here and in the body of the work to his care in investigating pardons. He always examined these applications with the greatest thoroughness. Whatever the crime may have been, whatever the position of the man, or however few or many his friends, he gave the same care to his work as if the people of a nation were waiting to hear his decision. Sometimes it would be no more than a poor Indian condemned to death or

long imprisonment, perhaps for an offense comparatively slight. Many times he would find in an application something that did not seem clear to him—something passed over by a clerk or the head of a bureau. It might be some knotty point of law, that would only attract the attention of a judge watchful for every point. If such a thing occurred he would send for the papers on file, whether in the gubernatorial office in Albany or in the Department of Justice in Washington, and go over the whole of it as carefully as if he were a judge bent upon deciding whether the evidence would warrant him in holding an accused man for trial.

This was his way. He felt that if any man's life or honor was at stake, the duty had been put upon him to protect the rights of that man, however humble he might be, or however much work it might impose upon himself. It is not at all surprising that such a man should have been popular. In such a case popularity, as it is called, is nothing but a natural result of having done his duty

as best he could. He felt that if great honors were conferred upon him, they also brought with them great responsibilities. He not only shows this as an official, but in private life manifests the same feeling as a citizen. If something has to be done, and he is thought the best man to do it, he does not shirk a duty—never putting himself upon show, never pushing himself into publicity—he still feels it incumbent upon him to do what in him lies to help a worthy cause or man.

This has made him a thorough man until thoroughness has become a habit. Thus, from the beginning, he had the faculty of going to the bottom of things. So even now, when he makes a speech on any question, he takes the opportunity at once to become familiar with it in all its bearings; and, as he does not take a position until he has satisfied himself of the correctness of his view, when he has decided he does not change with the winds.

He is in every way an effective speaker. This, too, is the result of the same habit of thoroughness. That he should speak well

is with him a result as natural as it is that he should be successful in drawing a legal paper. But he has about him little of what is called the orator. He does not speak on every occasion, and never without preparation, or upon some question that he has thought out with great care. Most of his speeches are short, none so far having taken an hour in its delivery. Of late there has been something more of elaboration, not only because of the greater importance of the questions and his own position in the community, but from his own broadening and growing character. His manner of delivery is careful and weighty. Each sentence is given its proper emphasis, although there is no attempt at declamation.

It is only natural that a man with these qualities—the qualities of hard work, honesty, and simplicity of character—should also be a courageous man, and he has shown this courage at every point of his public career. He does not stop to think about the personal effect of a lecture to a legislative body or a plain-speaking letter

to the promoter of some political movement. Let him once make up his mind that a proposed project or a practice is wrong, and he does not stop to consider the effect upon his own political position of the stand he is about to take. So, whether he vetoes a five-cent fare bill that is thought to be popular, or resists an attempt to pass a law that is dangerous, or interposes his objection to pension acts or public building bills, he never inquires in any case what the effect will be upon his personal fortunes. The same is true of his position upon the silver question and other large issues that he has been compelled to consider both as an official and as a private citizen.

Mr. Cleveland's tastes are plain. He has never shown any desire for the ostentation so common in these days. He does not deem it incumbent upon him to struggle with millionaires to make a display, and it may be said with perfect truth that he always recalls with pleasure his own early struggles and the habits and tastes of the plain people with whom his

lines were cast during his early and formative days.

He has always had a strong and abiding faith in the people, having been with them and of them from his earliest years. Men engaged in all sorts of occupations and professions have come under his notice in such a way that he could study their characters and characteristics. It is due to this knowledge that he has gained the confidence of his countrymen. Knowing them, he has never truckled to them. He has never given up his own opinions to please them, and has at no time indulged in a demagogic utterance.

As a consequence he has enjoyed for many years, perhaps in a larger degree than any man known to this generation, the confidence of his countrymen. He has been able to command this by reason of service as well as of character. While in office the rights of every man, race, or interest were recognized and protected, and sectional questions and race differences disappeared, so far as he could bring about this auspicious result.

This confidence was never confined to any section or to any interest. It was felt in every section, trade, business, and calling, and by men holding every variety of opinion on public questions. As the result of such a policy he was able to insure a wise economy in every branch of the public service; the preservation of the remnant of our public lands; the building of an effective navy; the rebuke of political selfishness; the prudent and moderate conduct of foreign affairs; a careful and honest reform of the civil service, and a wise conservatism in the financial policy of the government. His whole administration was based upon opposition to State Socialism, as it manifested itself in everything from protection to pauperism; to combinations, whether they took the form of industrial trusts or the work of log-rolling appropriations through congress; to the dangerous and indefinite purpose of silver for coinage by the government, and to the unnatural fear of foreign competition. In all these things Mr. Cleveland represented the conservatism and common

sense of his countrymen, and was able to carry out so many positive ideas, and to destroy or cripple so many dangerous tendencies, that he has fairly merited the confidence he has received from his countrymen.

CHAPTER XV.

A LITERARY MAN'S ESTIMATE.

“55 CLINTON PLACE,

“NEW YORK, August 12, 1892.

“MY DEAR MR. PARKER :

“I am very glad you are to write a life of Mr. Cleveland, and hasten to meet your request for some impressions of my own derived from personal acquaintance. In thinking the matter over it occurs to me that perhaps the best I can do is to make note of some of the reasons why so many men of letters have been particularly attracted by his character and personality.

“In the first place, to the man of letters the man of action is always interesting. If the man of action is also a man of

thought, if he is a man of exceptional force, having great mental energy, strength of will, and moral courage, the interest is increased. Naturally, it is still further increased if this man's acts are so fortified, by either personal or official authority, as to be in themselves public events of the first importance; if, indeed, his convictions and the frank utterance of them actually change the course of history.

“To the man of letters there is a special interest in a man of action like Mr. Cleveland, owing to certain individual characteristics. I refer to a directness of conversation and manner—what may be called a lack of sophistication—which is particularly welcome and refreshing to those who are brought into constant association with æsthetic and social subtleties. While carrying himself on all occasions with great dignity and good feeling, this country clergyman's son has an almost rustic simplicity of thought and tone that is democratic and American in the best sense.

“There is another feature of individual

interest appealing particularly to the literary mind, and this is the fact that, although a man of education in the ordinary sense of the term, Mr. Cleveland has been, after all, chiefly educated, not by books and academies, but by actualities—as Taine says of Napoleon, by direct contact with men and things. I know few men of action more willing to consider carefully a differing view. He sometimes arrives slowly, and with laborious investigation, at his own opinion. But the very method of his education—that is, mainly by the world as he has seen and known it—tends to clear vision and direct and effective action.

“I must add to the list another trait especially attractive to men of letters, though the trait itself may be considered the very opposite of literary; I refer to Mr. Cleveland’s admirable lack of anxiety about the preservation of literary or other records of his own career. In these days of ‘records’ and ‘claims’ it is bracing to find a man who, while applying himself with intense industry and devotion to the

thing to be accomplished, lets the accomplishment pass from his hand without the slightest worry about its history.

“A more literary reason for interest lies in the fact that this man of action while writing, in his public papers, often with a sort of Washingtonian solemnity, has the faculty of now and then striking off phrases so apt and telling that they pass quickly into the currency of popular speech. Judging from the list of ‘Noted Sayings’ in the Stedman-Hutchinson ‘Library of American Literature,’ Mr. Cleveland is remarkable for this faculty among modern statesmen. The list in ‘Noted Sayings’ is far from containing all the fortunate expressions which occur in his writings—expressions sometimes terse and homely, with a touch of humor in them, sometimes effective mainly through a certain fire of conviction. The published book of his ‘Writings and Speeches’ does not displease me by its iteration of the simple duties of citizenship, for I know how sincere is this note, and how profoundly characteristic. If Mr. Cleveland has taken seriously the duties of pub-

lic office, he takes not less seriously the duties of that 'public trust' which, in a republic like ours, is implied in mere citizenship itself, and is the prerogative and duty of every voter.

"After all, to men of letters and to professional men in general—men who are a little outside of the dusty field of political strife—the one thing about Mr. Cleveland most interesting, the thing that differentiates him from the ordinary politician, is a certain moral fury applied to the practical affairs of government. Yet, ~~if~~ he is popularly classed among the reformers, it is certainly not among the excellent so-called 'professional reformers.' His reputation in this respect is the natural result of the contact of a straightforward, sincere, and strong nature with the honestly assumed duties of administration. No one who is personally acquainted with Mr. Cleveland can fail to recognize the fact that it is the essentially moral view which colors his opinions on nearly all public questions. I am perfectly sure that it is his personal conviction of the moral evils which he believes

accompany the purely protective theory of the tariff that has led him to assume such a determined attitude on this subject. The moral issues involved have notably affected his position as to the civil service and ballot reforms, pensions, international copyright, and the silver question.

“I believe it is this moral earnestness which has given such consistency and continuity of purpose to his public record. His first message as Mayor of Buffalo was even more decidedly a prediction of his political career than was Cromwell’s first recorded speech in Parliament a promise of that of the great Protector. Add to this trait, moral courage—a trait which even his opponents acknowledge and applaud—and you have largely accounted for a series of conscientious public acts, each of which, one after the other, notably and consciously endangered his whole future career.

“Beyond the lines of party there is a general recognition of the fact that in such deliverances as the tariff message and the

silver letter and other public and well-known acts, bravery of an unusual kind was displayed. Mr. Cleveland's personal acquaintances can bear testimony that the private occasions connected with public duties in which he has shown the same courage—often along with a unique power to resist 'pressure'—have been, to say the least, quite as numerous as those known of all men, from the time he was Mayor of Buffalo to the other day when he declared just before the Chicago Convention that he would 'have the Presidency clean or not at all.'

"In speaking of the well-known interest of men of letters in the character and personality of Mr. Cleveland, my mind naturally reverts to the public and private utterances of that man of letters whose admiration for Mr. Cleveland's character I consider the most honorable leaf in the chaplet of this statesman's fame. In a letter to a friend, written in 1887, Mr. Lowell said: 'I am glad that you have been seeing the President. To me his personality is very *simpatico*. He is a truly American

type of the best kind—a type very dear to me, I confess.’

“In the few paragraphs I send you—written from a personal and not a partisan point of view—I have merely mentioned some of the traits that go to make up the type of which Lowell speaks. I may note, finally, as very characteristic of Mr. Cleveland, that I have never known him to show so much pleasure at any appreciation of himself as at those lines of Lowell’s contained in a letter sent to Josiah Quincy, chairman of the banquet given in 1890 by the Merchants’ Association of Boston, in which lines Lowell did not repeat the high praise he had given him on other occasions, but simply accorded the ex-President credit for honest intentions—for merely doing his best. There is no doubt that fair-minded men of all parties believe Lowell’s lines to be true of Mr. Cleveland. Those who have seen him near at hand and have been aware of the perplexities, the pressures and difficulties that have encumbered his way, as they do that of every man who tries to walk the straight path in public life, such,

I say, can well understand why Mr. Cleveland was so deeply touched by these words of Lowell :

“ Let who has felt compute the strain
Of struggle with abuses strong,
The doubtful course, the helpless pain
Of seeing best intents go wrong.
We who look on with critic eyes,
Exempt from action's crucial test,
Human ourselves, at least are wise
In honoring one who did his best.

“ Mr. Cleveland is most fortunate in that he has outlived calumny, won from his own party unprecedented honors, and met in the opposite party wide recognition of his personal integrity and honesty of purpose. Indeed, some of his most eloquent eulogists have been his political opponents. Of such a man it is natural that his friends should feel moved to speak in terms that might savor of extravagance, yet nothing would be more out of keeping with the character of the man. You well know that I have left much unsaid that is in my heart to say of one with whom companionship is a privilege and an inspiration.

“ I fear there is little here that will be of

any great service to you in your work, because your own acquaintance with the subject of your sketch makes you well aware of the traits of which I have spoken, but you are welcome to use anything I have written in any way that will best serve your purpose.

“Very sincerely yours,

“R. W. GILDER.

“MR. GEORGE F. PARKER.”

A SKETCH OF ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

ADLAI EWING STEVENSON was born in Christian County, Ky., on the 23d of October, 1835. His father and mother were natives of North Carolina, having left there when they were mere children. His grandfather Stevenson was one of the early settlers of that part of Kentucky. His ancestors were Scotch-Irish. The paternal great-grandfather of the candidate for Vice President was a native of the North of Ireland, who settled in North Carolina about the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and his son, the grandfather of Mr. Stevenson, went, in 1813, to Kentucky, which was then a primitive country—far more primitive, in fact, than any settlement to be

found anywhere in the country at the present time, however remote it may be. All these men were farmers, as their ancestors had been for generations.

It is difficult to understand in these days that the occupation of farming can be made so attractive as to lead one generation after another to engage in it, but this tendency was never stronger—even in the most confirmed peasant classes of the old world—than it was among the pioneers, especially those of the Southern States. These people might move on from one country to another, or they might go out from an old State and found a new one, yet they carried with them, wherever they went, the same love for the soil that, in all generations, has distinguished a large part of the people. To a very considerable extent this feeling seems to have declined; but it was just as natural for people like the Stevensons to be enrolled as farmers as it was apparently for certain families in New England to find work and reputation generation after generation as clergymen.

Then, too, the wonderful productiveness of North Carolina in the matter of men is

well illustrated in the early career of the Stevensons, and now by the candidate for the Vice Presidency who is the subject of this sketch. In spite of the fact, now illustrated by many decennial census reports, that North Carolina has upon its soil a larger proportion of people born there than any other State of the Union, it is nevertheless true that it has also furnished an astonishingly large proportion of the new settlers—not only for other States in the South, but for many in the North. That State is indeed the one exception to the ordinary rule that immigration moves from North to South or from South to North. Not only is there a large element of people of North Carolina ancestry in all the Southern States, especially in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Kentucky, but the number of those in the North who have the same blood in their veins is surprising.

It seems almost natural for these people, whatever their condition in life, to “move on.” First a family would move, perhaps, across the mountains into southern Kentucky; then the same family, or the next generation of it, would find its

way into southern Ohio, into Indiana, or into central or southern Illinois. With the instinctive desire for moving, these people kept on, generation after generation, carrying themselves and their household goods into many pioneer States and neighborhoods, until there is scarcely an important settlement anywhere west of Ohio that has not had within its limits a considerable number of people of North Carolina birth or ancestry.

It was this instinct that brought the Stevensons and the Ewings, now prominent figures in this generation in the politics of Illinois and the West, into that region. It is only by the cessation or temporary stilling of this desire to move that the next generation has not found its way still further west into some still newer State or Territory; but this nomadic life, confined as it was to the younger in each generation, had a wonderful influence upon the new States and neighborhoods thus peopled, and gave to North Carolina a position that is quite unique in our history. Out from her borders have gone

men like Jackson and Johnson, both of whom became Presidents of the United States, and others, representatives of the best blood that had found its way into North Carolina in early days from the north of Ireland, made careers for themselves. Indeed, this instinct appears, so far as the stronger elements are concerned, to be confined almost entirely to people of Scotch-Irish blood.

The Stevensons were farmers in Kentucky, as they had been in North Carolina and in Ireland ; so, when the father of Adlai moved to Bloomington, Ill., in 1852, he was only proceeding in accordance with the instincts and habits of his race. At this time the future Vice President was sixteen years of age. The community in which he thus had his early training was entirely agricultural, and the school to which he went was an old-fashioned country one, in which, for some four or five months in the year, some peripatetic pedagogue, or some poor, but aspiring, young college student administered to the wants of a pioneer community in a log school-

house, which has long since fallen into such utter ruin that it would probably be difficult even to find the place where it stood. He attended the neighborhood school in Kentucky, and, after the removal of the family to Illinois, he continued his studies there.

He himself never engaged in farming, except it might be in some early efforts in which he helped out neighbors or friends. But, like many others who have come up through this plain and industrious school, he was not satisfied with his surroundings. His father, like all of his generation, was just a little bit further advanced in the art of money-getting, and the instinct for gain had grown so much stronger among the people that the sons began to look out for a better education than their fathers could get or could be contented with.

So, only a little while after the removal to Illinois, young Stevenson returned to Kentucky and entered himself as a student at Center College, at Danville, in that State. This was a Presbyterian institution, and

was quite celebrated in its time. It has sent forth many good men who have made their mark upon the history of their times. Among those now or recently prominent in public affairs in different States may be named: Senator J. C. S. Blackburn of Kentucky; Thomas T. Crittenden, ex-Governor of Missouri; Representative James B. McCreary, formerly Governor of Kentucky and now a prominent member of the House of Representatives at Washington; John Young Brown, now Governor of Kentucky; W. C. P. Breckinridge; John C. Breckinridge, late Vice President of the United States, and Claude Matthews, Democratic candidate for Governor of Indiana this year, all of whom were graduated from this college. It has also sent forth a number of men who have entered the ranks of the professions and gained excellent positions and done good work in many localities of the State in which it is located and of its neighbors. Some of those mentioned were fellow-students with young Stevenson, who remained two or three years at the

college, although he did not graduate. But his after life goes to show that he did not lose the interest in the institution which might have been his alma mater. Many years afterward he returned to Kentucky and showed his devotion to the institution by marrying the daughter of the President of the college, who was the most noted figure it ever had—the Rev. Dr. Lewis W. Green, a Presbyterian clergyman.

CHAPTER II.

PROFESSIONAL LIFE AND POLITICS.

THE young man had aspirations for something else than farming. Not that he looked down upon the employment which had given character and sustenance to many generations of his ancestors, but, living in a new country, he thought he saw an opportunity to make a place for himself in his profession. So, in his twenty-second year, he left college without graduating, and entered upon the study of the law in Bloomington, with Robert E. Williams, then him-

self a comparatively young man, though old enough to have attained considerable reputation as a lawyer and a Democratic politician.

His preceptor, still living and in active practice, looks back with interest to the days when his young student was making his way through the difficulties incident to the study of the law—difficulties which exist now in a degree quite as great as they did in the days when the young lawyer had fewer advantages in the way of libraries. It was not the fashion in those days to attend a law school. But young Stevenson pursued his studies with much earnestness, and with such success that in 1859, in his twenty-third year, he was admitted to the practice of his profession in Bloomington, the town of his residence. By a coincidence, Mr. Cleveland himself the same year was admitted to practice in Buffalo.

Then it was that the moving instinct also found expression in the son of the man who had been born in North Carolina, moved to Kentucky, and later to Illinois.

In the year of his admission young Stevenson left his home in Bloomington and removed to Metamora, in Woodford County, of the same State. There he settled down to the practice of his profession, doing such work as a young lawyer could find in a pioneer community. His law library was not large, but he had the faculty that many others had developed—of using what he had to the fullest possible advantage. Whatever work he undertook to do he did well.

If the cases intrusted to him were small, and his fees still smaller, his expenses were light. He had none of the costly tastes that belong to these days of luxury, and no idea that he must begin where his successful brethren of the law were to leave off. His character fitted him for life among a people simple in their tastes and ideas, and intelligent and active in all good work.

Soon after his removal to Metamora he was appointed a master in chancery, which office he held for four years. There were in those days no important railroad cases, nothing but the ordinary routine business,

mainly of an equity character. But it gave the young lawyer recognition in such a community, and enabled him to make many legal connections that were valuable, not only then so far as fees were concerned, but such as brought him many friends in later years. So well did he do his work that in 1864 he was elected to the office of District Attorney, which under the old constitution of Illinois was an office whose work extended over several counties. This office he also held for four years. Although the district gave about a thousand Republican majority he was elected as a Democratic candidate—his first experience of this sort.

The practice of a lawyer holding such an office is, of course, almost entirely criminal, and although he had had little experience in this he worked hard and did his duty justly and fearlessly. The position of public prosecutor was then more important than it is now, when the prosecutor is oftentimes enabled to bring to his assistance some of the best members of the bar in order to enable him to meet the many

lawyers who are sometimes pitted against him in the defense of a man indicted for crime.

The Illinois bar of that day, as before and since, was a strong one. Few of the newer States of the West have produced more lawyers of distinguished ability, more men who have made their mark as judges and councilors than did that State. There were not so many books, but there was perhaps more real law. The body of common law being smaller, there was not the opportunity to quibble that has developed during these later days. Whatever it was, the lawyers of that day, living in a new community, made their mark upon it in a most distinctive way.

As has already been said, the district was composed of many counties, and the public prosecutor was compelled to follow the practice of "riding the circuit," then so common and necessary for the successful lawyer. As a rule the courts in the different counties were held by the same judge, the lawyers going from one to another, and before the days of railroad

communication they traveled together in stages or on horseback, and in such other primitive fashion as they must.

During his incumbency of this office he was also enabled to perfect himself in the general practice of his profession. This embraced nearly everything that the law afforded—criminal law, because he was the public prosecutor and that was his business; civil cases of every kind, from the simplest to the most important that could arise in a community of the character in which he lived. The lawyers' offices generally looked out on the public square—that construction so peculiar to the towns of the older West—and were seldom closed. Day and night they were open, and it is not probable that many keys were ever turned in the locks of their doors. These offices, as Mr. Stevenson once quaintly expressed it, were “almost as open as the public square itself,” and his was no exception.

He came out of this training—as did his chief and running mate on the Democratic ticket this year from a similar office—well

equipped as a lawyer, with sufficient practice to give him confidence in himself and with a growing reputation. He had been industrious, honest, and persistent ; he had neglected no opportunities, and yet he had never permitted himself to resort to methods that discredited him then, or that he has since had occasion to look upon with regret.

It was almost as natural for a lawyer to go into politics in those days as it was for him to eat his dinner, and the subject of this sketch was no exception to this tendency. He got his first introduction to politics in 1860, when he made some speeches in favor of the election of Stephen A. Douglas. In 1858, while still a resident of Bloomington, the celebrated series of debates between Lincoln and Douglas were being carried on throughout the State of Illinois. One of them was held at Bloomington, and it was there that the young lawyer first made the acquaintance of Mr. Douglas, then the leading man of his State and perhaps of his party in all the country. The older man formed a liking for the

younger one, and it was perhaps only natural that, when the campaign of 1860 came on, the young lawyer, just beginning his life work in another town, should have thrown himself into the contest with all his zeal.

In spite of the fact that he was a Kentuckian by birth, association, and training, Mr. Stevenson refused to support Breckinridge and allied himself with the Douglas or Northern wing of the Democracy. He was one of the most earnest of the young supporters of that wonderful man, and in 1861, when, during the dark and early days of the war, Douglas died, it was Stevenson to whom the people of his town looked when they cast about for some man to pronounce the eulogy upon the life of Senator Douglas. This was delivered at Metamora, Ill., on the 4th day of July, 1861.

In order to give some idea of his method of speech in those days, I have selected the following extracts from the address in question :

“ He died in the prime of manhood, at the early age of forty-eight, while his intellectual

faculties were yet undimmed and just as he had reached the zenith of his glory. No greater honor could have been conferred upon him. Like Clay and Webster, he never attained the Presidency, but, like Clay and Webster, his name will be remembered when Tyler is forgotten. He died when his country had great need of his services. In the hour of our national gloom we looked to him for counsel.

“The congress of the United States will assemble to-day, but who can fill that vacant chair? Can you estimate our loss? As well you may attempt to count the sand upon the seashore or to measure the drops of the ocean. But, though dead, he yet liveth in the affections of a grateful people. His death has sanctified the last acts of his life and made sacred the last words he uttered to his countrymen. Take those words, write them upon your hearts, teach them to your children, inscribe them upon your banners, and through them its influence will be felt and his voice still heard calling upon you to ‘obey the laws and support the Constitution.’

“He is buried upon the shores of the beautiful lake upon whose banks he lived; in the bosom of the State that he loved so well and served so faithfully. He sleeps quietly at his own Cottage Grove, ‘with the rippling waters of old Michigan for his requiem, and the shadow of his monument, a noble university, resting upon his grave. As the faithful Moslem made his annual

pilgrimage to the tomb of the prophet, so will the tomb of Douglas be the Mecca of the West, and thither, year after year, will be turned the footsteps of the American patriot, who, lingering around the spot, will drop a tear of gratitude and regret upon his grave. From that tomb a noble monument will pierce the heavens, and as year after year passes away it will stand as a living evidence of our gratitude to the dead. But he needs no monument to perpetuate his name. His fame is historic; his name is embalmed in the hearts of his countrymen. Need I speak of his social qualities? He attracted men to him as the magnet attracts the needle. A devoted partisan, a warm friend, an affectionate husband, and an uncompromising patriot, truly he was such a man, 'take him for all in all, we shall not look upon his like again.' Like the great Pitt of England, he was the friend of the common people. The mechanic in his shop, and the laborer upon our great thoroughfares, felt that in him they had a friend. Sprung from an humble origin himself, he gave a helping hand to all who were struggling through poverty and obscurity to obtain positions in life.

"Not only from the palaces of wealth and splendor, but from the hut of poverty, from the cottage of the humble and lowly in life do we behold the symbols of sorrow and grief."

In 1864 Mr. Stevenson was nominated

by the Democratic State Convention as a district elector for McClellan. He then made speeches throughout the counties which composed his congressional district, one of the largest in the State, and came out of the canvass with still wider reputation.

During the war Mr. Stevenson was a strong Union man, and, while he did not participate personally, he did a great deal of work in the raising of troops in Woodford County. In this way he assisted in organizing the One Hundred and Eighth Illinois Regiment, the colonel of which was John Warner, now Mayor of Peoria, a sturdy Democrat, and then, as now, a strong personal friend of Stevenson. The lieutenant colonel of the regiment was the Sheriff of Woodford County, and as a result of the work done by Stevenson and others two companies of the regiment in question were raised in that county. Years after, when Stevenson had become a candidate for Congress, and was subjected to the usual abuse in those days heaped upon a Democrat, this same lieutenant

colonel, R. L. Sidwell, then of Chicago, came out in a letter over his own name, in which he told of the work that Mr. Stevenson had done and so refuted effectively the vile charges. From that day to this no man in Illinois has ever been so audacious as to repeat such a charge. However, unlike many rising young men of that day, Stevenson remained a Democrat.

CHAPTER III.

SERVICE IN CONGRESS.

IN 1869 Mr. Stevenson returned to Bloomington. For some years he had very little to do with politics, but gave his time to perfecting himself in his profession and to making a legal position for himself in a town where he was then little known as a public man. His practice was still of the same general character, although after the end of his term as District Attorney he gave little attention to criminal matters.

His life moved along in this quiet

groove until 1874, when he was nominated for congress. All the elements opposed to the Republican party in the district in which he lived, then Republican by about four thousand majority, united in his support. He sought no nominations, wrote no letters of acceptance, but simply went into the contest, holding joint discussions with his opponent and predecessor, General John McNulta. Of this Mr. Stevenson himself now says: "There was no word personally offensive spoken by either of the candidates during the entire canvass. After the election we were just as good friends as we were before."

General McNulta has since been prominent in public life, and in 1888 was a prominent candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor of his State. It is also interesting to know that after Mr. Stevenson had been nominated for Vice President in June of this year, the man who made the speech at the wonderful ovation that awaited him in his own town was General McNulta. The friendship formed between them had grown with the

years. No professional or political rivalry had had the least effect upon it.

Mr. Stevenson entered congress in the first House of Representatives controlled by the Democrats after the war. For fourteen years the Republicans had held absolute control not only of the Executive but of both houses of congress. But the tidal wave of 1874 brought into the House a large number of new men, defeating many Republicans who had been most prominent in the drastic legislation of the war period.

When the Forty-fourth Congress convened, the contest for the speakership was between Michael C. Kerr of Indiana and Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania. Both had seen long service and had attained about equal prominence. Mr. Kerr was known generally as a tariff reform candidate, because he had given much attention to questions of revenue and taxation; while Mr. Randall was known as the advocate of economical appropriations, and had developed in the preceding congress a great faculty for leading the minority, and

thereby preventing the passage of the Force bill. The contest between them was sharp, and Mr. Stevenson, being an ardent tariff reformer, and living in a State adjoining that of Mr. Kerr, allied himself with the Indiana candidate, who was elected.

Although a new member, he was assigned to a place on the Committee on Territories, then far more important than now when nearly all of the Territories have been admitted to the Union as States. And he was also made a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia. This was really one of the most important committees in that congress. The Forty-third Congress had entirely changed the system of government in Washington—the revelations made about the improvements carried on by Alexander R. Shepherd, the great debt entailed upon the District, and the immense cost of the wonderful improvements, which really did so much to make Washington a city, together with many other local scandals growing out of the fact that a large proportion of the voters of the

District were negroes, had induced the Republicans of the Forty-third Congress to deprive the District of what was called "self-government" and to make it really dependent upon congressional appropriations. Matters had not yet adjusted themselves to the new conditions and all the work fell upon the House Committee on the District. It had in charge the devising of a system of taxes and assessments, the government of the police, and all the various minutiae relating to the government of an important city which had been so long misgoverned that an entirely new system was made necessary. Much of the work done by this committee was very laborious, and yet it was of such a character that very little report of it came to the light, being a working committee, not a dress parade one.

The Presidential election of 1876 occurred during the life of the Forty-fourth Congress. It is not necessary to review the events that led up to a disputed Presidency. It is sufficient for the purposes of this sketch to say that Mr. Stevenson was

a firm supporter of the Electoral Commission bill, under the provisions of which a commission, composed of five senators, five members of the House of Representatives and five justices of the Supreme Court—the fifth of whom was chosen by the other four—was authorized by law and selected under its provisions, and that he was strongly in favor of the commission bill and made a vigorous speech in its favor.

After the decision had been rendered by the commission, a considerable number of Democrats, under the leadership of William M. Springer of Illinois, now Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and George M. Beebe of New York, undertook to carry on a filibustering contest to prevent the confirmation of what nearly everybody conceded to be a great wrong. While Mr. Stevenson deprecated the decision of the commission, he contended that the whole question had been submitted to the tribunal appointed by congress, and that its decision, whatever it might be, should be carried out in good faith. To him the peace of the country was para-

mount and the path of duty was plain, and he saw no reason why he should not follow it, in spite of the fact that it defeated the candidate of his party for the Presidency. While these filibustering proceedings were going on Mr. Stevenson made a brief speech condemning them and insisting that the decision of the commission should be allowed to stand. Later, in February, 1877, when the last vote on the question was about to be taken, he made another brief speech on the same question, in which he said :

“ Mr. Speaker, we have now reached the final act of this great drama, and the record here made will pass into history. Time, the great healer, will bring a balm to those who feel sick at heart because of this grievous wrong. But who can estimate, what seer can foretell, the evils that may result to us and our children from this judgment? Fortunate, indeed, will it be for this country if our people lose not faith in popular institutions. Fortunate, indeed, if they abate not their confidence in the integrity of that high tribunal, for a century the bulwark of our liberties. In all times of popular commotion and peril, the Supreme Court of the United States has been looked to as the final arbiter, its decrees heeded as the voice of

God. How disastrous may be the result of decisions so manifestly partisan, I will not attempt to forecast.

“Sir, let this vote be now taken and the curtain fall upon these scenes forever. To those who believe, as I do, that a grievous wrong has been suffered, let me entreat that this arbitrament be abided in good faith, that no hindrance or delay be interposed to the execution of the law, but that by faithful adherence to its mandates, by honest efforts to revive the prostrate industries of the country and restore public confidence by obedience to the constituted authorities, we will show ourselves patriots rather than partisans in the hour of our country’s misfortunes.”

In the congressional elections of 1876 Mr. Stevenson, renominated by all the elements in his district opposed to the Republican party, had been defeated by Thomas F. Tipton by a majority of less than 350 votes, although the Republican candidate for President had carried the district by several thousand.

After his retirement from congress Mr. Stevenson returned to the practice of his profession in Bloomington. He never permitted anything to keep him away from his practice except those public duties

which he would not shirk. While he was in congress his law practice had been kept up, during his absence, by his partner, James S. Ewing, so that he had only to return to it to find plenty of work. He did so then, as he had always done after his retirement from the important public offices that he has held.

In 1878 Mr. Stevenson was nominated by the convention of his party, and was supported by all the elements opposed to the Republicans. As usual, he did not push himself upon his party, but, once nominated, he deemed it his duty to enter the field and give the best service he possibly could. His personal popularity stood him in good stead again, and he was returned to congress, after two years' absence, by a good majority.

This contest was made just after the agitation against the so-called demonetization of silver and the opposition to the legal tender clause of the greenback had become political issues. These questions were under full discussion. Mr. Stevenson took the view then popular in the West on

these issues. He was in favor of the re-monetization of silver, accomplished only a few months before by the passage of what has since been known as the Bland bill, providing for the coinage of not less than two millions and not more than four millions per month of standard silver dollars of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Mr. Stevenson was elected by nearly two thousand majority, the district remaining Republican by a large majority on other candidates.

So he entered the Forty-sixth Congress. In it the principal committee upon which he served was that upon "Private Land Claims." This was almost entirely a judicial committee. His legal training stood him in good stead, because this committee had jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to the settlement of claims growing out of the treaty between Mexico and the United States after the Mexican War and the territory which was ceded to the United States—such as California and other States. In order to do his work effectively it was necessary to study carefully the Spanish laws relating to land.

He did his work here, as everywhere, carefully and conscientiously, sparing no labor necessary to reach a complete and intelligent understanding of every question submitted to him.

In this congress also came up what was known in that day as the "Army bill," in which the Democrats sought to force, as a rider in the Appropriation bill, a clause prohibiting the use of the army in the Southern States. Upon this bill Mr. Stevenson made a short and vigorous speech, which not only attracted attention at the time but has been liberally reprinted since his nomination for the Vice Presidency. This was really the agitation succeeding the original Force bill, fathered by General Butler and defeated by Mr. Blaine, and preceding the election bill proposed in the Fifty-first Congress by Mr. Lodge and passed under the party discipline then carried out so effectively by Thomas B. Reed, the Speaker.

This speech condemning the application of force bills was so apt that it might well

be applied to the existing situation. He said :

“It would be difficult to conceive of a question of higher moment, or which more vitally concerns the sacred right of the citizen, than that of the exercise of the elective franchise free from apprehension of unauthorized arrest and imprisonment. This is the chief corner stone of all his other rights and privileges. Are the liberties of the citizen safe when he can be obstructed in the choice of his representative, whether by the armed soldiery or by the deputy marshals? He who believes that the American people will consent that their liberties may permanently be held by so brittle a tenure has studied the history of our race to little purpose. The purity of the ballot box must be maintained. None should be permitted to approach it except such as have the lawful qualifications. To these the pathway must be unobstructed. Every necessary guard must be thrown around it to protect it against fraud. But, while this is true, it is all-important that the right of the people, unawed by menace, to select their representatives should not be abridged. Upon the full exercise of this right depends not only the maintenance of the independence of the popular branch of our government, but of the integrity of the government itself.”

Mr. Stevenson has been a consistent

Democrat all his life. His first vote, cast in 1856, was for Mr. Buchanan, and he has never supported the nominee of any other party than his own. Whatever the election might be—National, State, or local—he has looked upon himself, and his neighbors and friends have looked upon him, as a consistent partisan. It is quite remarkable, indeed, that a man of such strong opinions and affiliations should have been able to command the support of the independent elements in such a district at various times, but this comes generally from his strong character and the fact that he has all his life been prudent in speech and utterance, kindly to his neighbors, and fortunate enough not to excite those enmities and jealousies that injure so many men.

In 1880 he was again renominated, but was defeated by a majority of only 242, and that, too, during the Presidential contest, when his district gave 3000 Republican majority. This closed his congressional career, upon which he resumed the practice of the law in the same general

line. During this canvass his old friend and townsman, David Davis, then a United States Senator, wrote a letter in favor of Mr. Stevenson, extracts from which are interesting now. In it he said :

“I regret my inability to attend your meeting, the more so because it would have afforded me an opportunity to bear personal testimony to the claims of Hon. A. E. Stevenson, who is up for re-election to congress, and who deserves the support of every fair-minded and independent voter. Mr. Stevenson unites in his character and candidacy the qualities which Jefferson defined as the necessary conditions for properly filling a public trust. He is honest, he is capable, and he is faithful to duty.

“As a representative, the people of this district, whether Democrats, Republicans, or Nationals, have reason to be proud of him, for on all test questions he has risen above the narrow restraints of party, guided by the principles of right, and animated by a moral courage that never faltered in asserting his convictions.

“The soldier, the soldier’s widow, and the soldier’s children have found in him a vigilant, a valuable, and an untiring friend, to whose influence and efforts they owe relief that has soothed many sorrows.

“Enjoying the fullest confidence and respect of all parties in congress, he has done very much to serve local and State interests.

This experience will enable him to do more than any new member could hope to achieve, for the first term is practically the infant school of a legislator.

“If there was no better reason than self-interest to recommend him, he ought to be returned again. But as he stands upon a higher plane, and asks the approval of an intelligent and a just constituency upon the merits of his congressional career, it should be given gratefully and generously.”

In 1884 he was elected as a delegate to the National Convention which nominated Mr. Cleveland the first time, and was a member of the Notification Committee. The first time he met Mr. Cleveland was when, as a member of that committee, the candidate was notified of the nomination in Albany on July 29, 1884. While the Notification Committee was in session at Albany, a large ratification meeting was held, at which the late Samuel J. Randall, Patrick A. Collins, the late Governor Walker of Virginia, Representative Hooker of Mississippi, and Mr. Stevenson were the speakers. He took an active part in that campaign, canvassing a great part of the State of Illinois for Mr. Cleveland.

CHAPTER IV.

IN THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

IN August, 1885, Mr. Stevenson was tendered the office of First Assistant Postmaster General. He was never an applicant for the place, but he was on intimate terms with Postmaster General Vilas, who recommended the appointment, and was exceedingly anxious to obtain Mr. Stevenson's services in his department.

This office was then by far the most important in the whole Post-Office Department, after the Postmaster General himself. Its work was divided within a few months after Mr. Stevenson's retirement from office, in March, 1889, and its duties are now distributed between the office of First Assistant Postmaster General and the new office of Fourth Assistant Postmaster General. As it was then constituted, it included a good deal more than half of the work of the department. Everything relating to the appointment of postmasters and their bonds, to the free delivery

services, to salaries and allowances, and other smaller bureaus, was attached to this office, the head of which was compelled to make himself familiar with the details of the vast business confided to him.

Naturally, the most important work—that requiring the best judgment of its incumbent—related to the appointment of what are known as “Fourth-Class Postmasters.” Of the entire number of postmasters (then nearly 60,000) only a little more than 2000 belonged to the first, second, and third classes, and were what are known as “Presidential Officers.” These appointments were made by the President upon the advice of the Postmaster General. Of the other 58,000, the task of making the appointments was lodged in the First Assistant’s office, and in only a comparatively small number of cases was the Postmaster General himself even consulted about the appointment that should be made. It was in this office, however, he made the reputation of being a headsman of postmasters. That he did remove a large number of

such officials is undoubtedly true, but that he improved the service at every turn is also true.

During the twenty-five years' term of power of the Republicans these fourth-class postmasters had been used as mere pawns on the political chessboard. They had become a compact body of active, energetic politicians, working at every cross-road ; and that, too, in obedience to orders from National, State, or local Republican committees and partisan managers. A goodly number of them had perhaps neglected the duties of their offices, or had become purely subordinate to the purposes of their partisan managers. It was, therefore, necessary for a Democratic Administration, entering upon power after a long exclusion from it, to reach these officials and to teach them that their tenure of office was not for life. But this wonderful power, perhaps the greatest lodged in any single man by any government in the world, was not abused. Changes were not made so rapidly as to injure the effectiveness of the service, nor upon the

mere whim of a member of congress or of a patron.

It was necessary that Democrats should be appointed to these places. The insolence of power, together with the partisan use that had been made of them and the kind of men that had been appointed—men, in many cases, who had held them so long that they looked upon themselves as having a mortgage upon them—all rendered it absolutely essential to the good of the service, as well as to the assertion of the ideas of the party that had gained power, that in these smaller offices the changes should be made.

In fact, the responsibilities of these places are quite as great, if not greater than some of the large offices, and as to their relative importance there is no comparison whatever. It makes little difference to a large community what may be the personal bearing or the political methods of a postmaster. The people do not come in contact with him, but in the small places, if a man is offensive to a few of his neighbors he soon becomes offensive to most of them, because

the qualities which make him so in the one case are almost certain to produce the same result in the other.

As showing Mr. Stevenson's attitude toward his own business interests, as they might be affected by his official position, the following letter, which explains itself, may be of interest :

“ POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
“ OFFICE FIRST ASST. POSTMASTER GEN.,
“ WASHINGTON, D. C., July 27, 1886.
“ THOMAS J. BUNN, *Postmaster*,
“ *Bloomington, Ill.*

“ DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry whether the removal of the Bloomington post office at the expiration of the present lease to Stevenson block is contemplated by the department, I answer it is not. Inasmuch as a number of gentlemen for whom I maintain a high regard have written me suggesting the removal, I should be glad to have them know my views upon the subject. Stevenson block is owned by members of my own family, which fact, while I sustain my present position, wholly excludes it from consideration as a location for a post office. The exercise of official power to promote the pecuniary interest of one's self or one's friends cannot, in my judgment, under any possible circumstances, be justified.

Yours very truly,

“ A. E. STEVENSON.”

In February, 1889, just before the close of the Cleveland administration, Mr. Stevenson was nominated without consultation with him as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, but as a Republican President had been elected in the meantime, the Senate took advantage of this fact to "hang up" the appointment, and so the nomination was neither confirmed nor rejected. Mr. Cleveland was very much attached to his appointee for judge, and it is not too much to say that he regretted very seriously the defeat of his purpose in this way. He would have made an excellent judge in every way. His legal training and temper are such that he would soon have made his mark as judge in an important court like that of the District of Columbia.

In April, 1892, he was elected a delegate-at-large by his State convention to the National Convention at Chicago, and was afterward chosen as chairman of the delegation. It is scarcely necessary to review his relations with the Cleveland canvass. Ever since the close of the Democratic

administration, in 1889, Mr. Stevenson has been looked upon as the firm friend of Mr. Cleveland, and he has always insisted that the one thing to do was to nominate Mr. Cleveland. He was potent in bringing this about during the convention, and was the original chairman of the conference committee composed of prominent Cleveland men from every State that took under its charge the duties of the canvass.

Immediately after his retirement from office Mr. Stevenson returned to his home in Bloomington, resumed the active practice of his profession, and has been engaged in his old work ever since. Since that time he has manifested his old-time interest in politics, as well as in business matters, by taking an active part in the interests of the location of the World's Fair at Chicago.

After his own nomination and the adjournment of the convention he returned home. The citizens of his own city, a strongly Republican one, closed up their places of business and turned out with almost absolute unanimity to tender him a reception.

At this a speech was made by his old-time political opponent and personal friend, General John McNulta. The most complimentary references were made to the candidate for the Vice Presidency, and everything showed that his standing among his neighbors was such as to justify this general approbation of his career and the celebration of his nomination as candidate for the Vice Presidency. He also made a speech at Peoria, in his State, on the Fourth of July, that has attracted a good deal of attention.

Mr. Stevenson is the President of the McLean County Coal Company, in which he owns a small amount of stock. The mine itself is mainly owned by members of his family—his brother-in-law having been the original President and for many years the active manager of the company. It was, therefore, only natural that the coal miners, of whom an average of about 225 are employed the year round, should express their approbation of the nomination of the President of the company by tendering him a serenade. This was done on July 11.

As showing Mr. Stevenson's relations to the labor question and laboring people, it is interesting to read the speech made by him on this occasion in reply to Mr. Radford, the pit boss and spokesman of the miners :

“It has been my good fortune on more than one occasion to witness manifestations of the kindly feelings entertained toward me by neighbors and fellow-townsmen, but I can say to you in perfect candor that your visit to-night and your words of kindness have touched me more deeply than I have ever been touched before. It is indeed gratifying now that the most cordial relations exist between the officers of our company and all of those who are employed in its service. As has been truly said by your chairman, but few disagreements have ever occurred between yourselves and the company, and these have been amicably settled. During the time I have been President of the company no disagreement or misunderstanding of any kind has arisen.

“I was more than gratified at the remark of Mr. Radford that I had not only treated you with justice, but always with kindness. I have certainly aimed to do so. Mr. Radford has referred to the fact that many of you have homes of your own in the village of Stevensonville, paid for out of your earnings at the mine. It has been a source of great pleasure to my brothers and myself

that our efforts to enable each of you to procure a comfortable home has met with such gratifying success.

“The most kindly and cordial feelings should ever exist between the employer and the employed. All disagreements should be settled either by conference or by arbitration. It has been my firm conviction for years that organization looking solely to their bettering and the protection of their rights is a necessity to the wage-earners. I will detain you a moment with an additional suggestion. It is this: By appropriate legislation when needed, but especially by the management of all the industrial enterprizes of the country, the hours of toil should be lessened. This would give to the wage-earner more time for the enjoyment of his home and the society of his family.”

These were no newly acquired opinions of Mr. Stevenson’s—opinions that had come to him after nomination for an important office. To show this it is only necessary to quote a few sentences from a political speech made by him on September 12, 1878, in which he thus referred to the rights of labor:

“At no previous period of our history have the rights of the laboring men been so earnestly pressed upon our attention. It is the part neither of humanity nor of sound statesmanship to close our eyes to the griev-

ances and distress of this large and useful class of our citizens. It cannot be denied that for some cause or causes labor is failing to meet with its just reward. To a large extent the evils complained of are the inevitable results of the vicious financial legislation to which I have referred. There should be no antagonism between employed capital and labor. It is idle and unproductive capital which antagonizes labor. It must be admitted that the improvements in machinery during the last few years have to a large extent supplanted human labor. But I can hardly believe that the invention of genius, dispensing with the hard labor of human hands, is in the end to prove a curse rather than a blessing to our race.

“In the end, under a proper adjustment of the rights of labor and of capital, labor-saving machinery must prove a benefit by shortening the hours of toil and adding to those of social and intellectual recreation. The important inquiry is, How can the respective rights of labor and capital be so adjusted that labor may meet with its just recompense? It is a question of difficult practical solution, but it is an encouraging fact that the attention of so many earnest and thoughtful men is now being called to its consideration. Intelligent discussion is necessarily the forerunner of all reforms. I would favor the appointment by congress of a commission to collect facts and statistics bearing upon this inquiry, and to ascertain the opinions of practical, thoughtful

men with a view to such legislation as would solve this question and secure to labor the just reward of its service. It has been truly said that "Government should protect labor, capital being always able to protect itself."

CHAPTER V.

CHARACTERISTICS AND SUCCESS.

THE unusual name, Adlai, first appeared in the Stevenson family in Adlai Osborn, who was the clerk of Rowan County, N. C., as far back as 1775, when it was still a colony. He was an uncle of Mr. Stevenson's grandfather, and the name, so far as the candidate for the Vice Presidency can recall, has been confined almost entirely to his family and to those persons named for himself and other members of his family during the many generations that it has been current.

Few men have a larger acquaintance the country over than Mr. Stevenson. He is not only associated politically with a large number of men, but his family and personal relations have been such as to bring him

into close relations with almost as many as he had come to know through politics. His acquaintance, therefore, especially in the South, where he is known by reason of Kentucky and North Carolina ancestry, is perhaps unsurpassed by that of any man now living in the United States. This applies not only to men now prominent in politics, but to those who have been prominent since the days of reconstruction; that is, since his election to congress in 1874.

Mr. Stevenson is not a man of wealth; he has never been a money-maker. He is, however, in moderate circumstances, having always been a prudent and thrifty man, without any of the ostentation that can only be satisfied by the expenditure of money.

He is a collector of books and has a very good and well chosen library. He is not only a collector, but he is a reader. His studies have been mainly in the line of history, more especially of American political history.

As a lawyer he has never run to special-

ties, but has given his attention to that general practice of the law so common in an agricultural community. He has been more successful, perhaps, as a jury lawyer than in anything else. He has an excellent command of language, knows his case well, studies carefully the character of the jury to whom he must make appeal, and has a faculty of keeping them interested in the case. He does not make long legal arguments; in fact, his political speeches and addresses to juries have seldom been more than an hour and a half long, with an average of about an hour.

Mr. Stevenson's conception of his profession and the dignity and responsibility of the lawyer were well shown in an address delivered by him before the students of the Illinois Wesleyan University, November 5, 1873, in which he said :

“No man should enter the profession of the law through merely mercenary motives. If he has no higher aim than the accumulation of wealth he had better seek some less laborious and more lucrative calling. The same intellectual ability in another avocation, with one-half the toil, anxiety, and weariness of the lawyer's life, would bring

far greater gains to his coffers. He who enters this profession should do so actuated by far nobler, holier purposes. It should be his aim to master those great principles upon which the structure of human society rests ; the great principles and laws by which right is made superior to might ; by which the moral and intellectual attributes of our nature are made to rise superior to and to control mere brute force. Nay, more than this, it is his high prerogative to assist in administering that God-like quality—justice—tempered oftentimes by that still more God-like attribute—mercy.

“Let no man, then, enter this profession with a mistaken idea of his duties, its responsibilities. The life of a lawyer is not one of ease, but a life of weariness, both to the body and mind. There is no royal road to victory, but he who ascends to the highest niche in the temple of fame does so only after many years, perhaps a long life, of unwearied effort. While this is true it is also true that save only the ministers of God’s holy church no calling in this life affords such opportunities for the attainment of noble ends, the accomplishment of glorious purposes. Upon the bar rest great responsibilities. To whom much is given, of them much will be required. In proportion as the lawyer is endowed with great abilities are his responsibilities great. In proportion as are his opportunities will be demanded of him the talents given, with usury, at that tribunal whose judgments

are founded in wisdom and from whose decrees there is no appeal.

“ I have spoken of the duties and requirements of the profession ; need I speak of its rewards ? The greatest is, in the prospect of a busy life, to know that your high office has never been prostituted to base purposes ; that it has never been an engine of oppression ; that in you the weak and helpless have ever found a defendant ; that the victims of injustice and wrong have never sought your aid in vain ; that your influence and example have ever been on the side of the right, for those measures and reforms that purify and elevate our race. As we approach the dark river from whose farther shore no traveler has ever yet returned, a consciousness that we have caused the faces of sorrowing childhood to light up with joy, that to the widow in her weeds of mourning we have indeed been benefactors, will be more glorious far than to have left behind us monuments of marble, a name in history, or to have worn the jewels of royalty.”

As a political speaker he has adapted himself well to the Western manner. He tells a variety of interesting stories in order to keep his audience in good humor with himself and the subject upon which he is speaking. He is an inimitable storyteller, whether on the platform or in private life, and few men other than profes-

sional raconteurs like Proctor Knott have so much reputation or have better deserved it. He nearly always has something "to point a moral or adorn a tale," and yet he does not obtrude these stories. They are suggested naturally by the course of the conversation. His manner in telling them—as is the case with all successful story-tellers—is deliberate, and he has a faculty of joining in the resulting laughter with much zest.

It may not be inapt to recount, as may be done from memory, one of his political stories. He says:

"Early in 1872, when the opening of the Presidential campaign was imminent, an old-time client of mine from one of the country townships of McLean County came in to see me. He was a plain farmer of Kentucky birth and Southern ancestry. After we had talked for a good while about various matters, he touched on politics. Just at that time a good deal of discussion was going on in the press about David Davis, my townsman, as the candidate to be nominated by the Liberal-Republican Convention then called to meet in Cincinnati during the following May. When my friend asked me who was talked about I said: 'Well, a good many of us are thinking of Davis.'

My visitor thereupon said: 'Well, you know, Mr. Stevenson, that our township is very strongly Democratic, and that its vote will be cast for any man whose nomination it is thought best to make.' Then he came up to me a little closer and added in a friendly and intimate way: 'But don't you think it's a little airy to bring old Jeff out.' "

His stock of stories is large, and yet no man ever hears one a second or even a third time that he does not enjoy it quite as well as upon the first narration. There is always a new knack in the telling—something that gives new zest to it, and that, therefore, maintains the interest of the listener.

Probably no man ever entered public life who made himself so thoroughly accessible as did Mr. Stevenson during the time that he was filling the office of First Assistant Postmaster General. There was very little ceremony about whom he would see; none of that sending in of cards and waiting that have become the bane of men having business with public officials. Not only was he ready and willing to transact business in a business way,

during business hours, but was also ever ready and willing to receive any man at his house or in a hotel or any place that seemed convenient. Few men have been compelled to lose their trains in order to transact business with him. He is a good listener, has quick decision, and is soon able to let his visitor know whether an impression has been made upon him.

He has never been looked upon as a political manager. All the nominations that he has ever had have come to him without personal seeking. He has always had a fair knowledge of the situation in a district or State, or in the country, but was never a manager of caucuses, and at no time has he ever sought an office, in the ordinary acceptance of that term.

He is a member of the Second Presbyterian Church of Bloomington, Ill., and has been since his boyhood. His family consists of his aged mother, now in her eighty-fourth year, his wife, and four children, one son and three daughters. He has a home well situated, well furnished, but without anything that is merely for show

or ostentation. He has close personal relations with his neighbors, and it is said that he has almost no enemies. This does not arise from any defect in his own character, but from his even temper and his thorough tolerance of difference of opinion. Among his intimates was David Davis, for many years Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and who died while a member of the United States Senate. In all Mr. Stevenson's political fortunes Judge Davis was his earnest supporter and at all times his devoted personal friend.

THE END.



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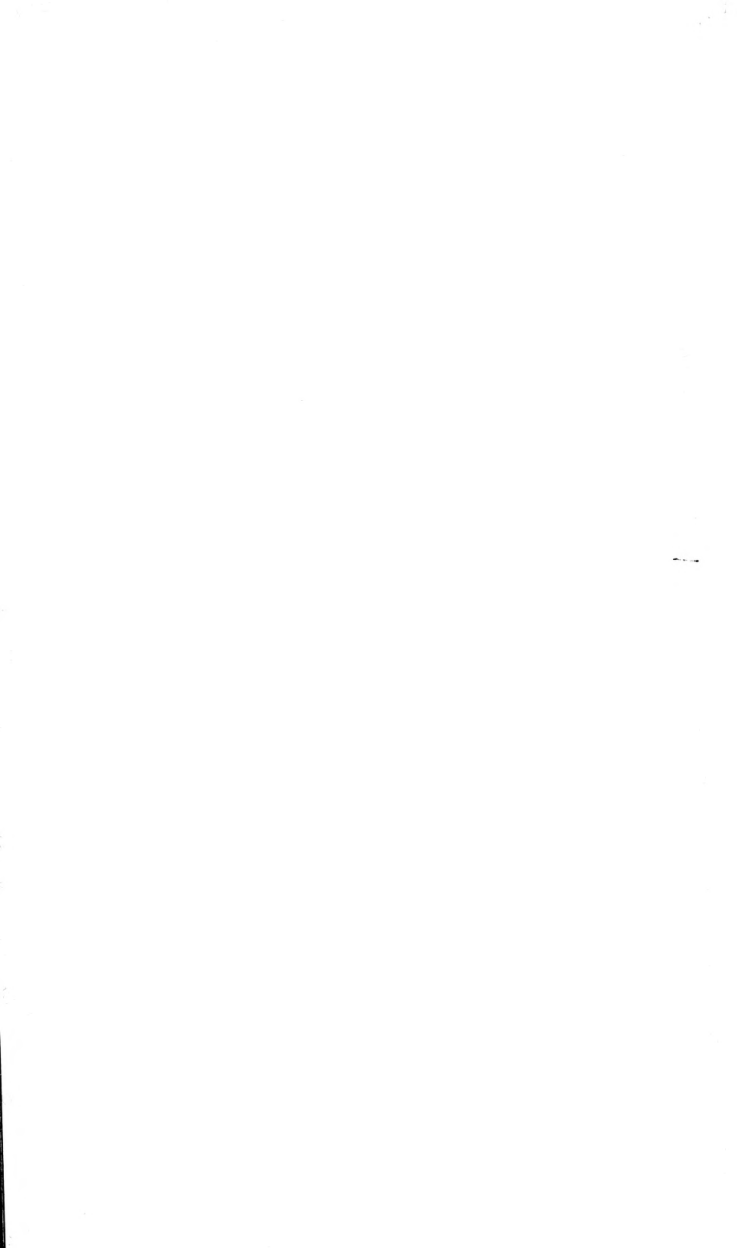
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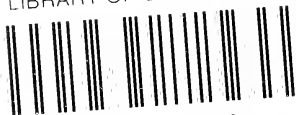
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